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ABSTRACT

This volume is the fifth and last in a series that gives a comphehensive view on the present status and future prospects of adult education in Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) member countries. The series attempts to show what kind of national policies and strategies are required to increase public participation in adult education and to improve its overall efficiency in order to meet high priority societal, group, and individual learning needs. Chapter 1 of this volume considers the implications of treating the education of disadvantaged as part of comprehensive national policy for adult education. While stressing that the rhetoric about the importance of serving the educational needs of disadvantaged adults has not been matched by polices, it points to the progress that has been made. The main conclusion of the chapter is that a proper set of polices implies the adoption of special measures to identify and satisfy the unmet educational needs of the disadvantaged. The next four chapters consist of country case studies from Australia, Germany, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. Chapter 6 deals with the major problem of how to induce disadvantaged adults to participate in adult education. It is argued that those administering adult education programs have paid far too little attention to the decisive influence of the way information is processed and disseminated. None of the emerging systems of recurrent education designed to encourage adult learning will improve in efficiency and do justice to the disadvantaged unless stimulating information is comprehensively presented. The last chapter is devoted to the financial implications of widening the access of the disadvantaged to education. A key section of the chapter states five propositions about program planning, each having implications for public expenditures. (KC)

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Learning opportunities for adults

Possibilités de formation pour les adultes

VOL. V

WIDENING ACCESS
FOR THE DISADVANTAGED

LES GROUPES DÉFAVORISÉS

CE 030 905

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PREFACE

Two groups of people do not profit from the massive expansion of formal education that has taken place in all OECD Member countries since about 1960. These are adults who left school at an early age and recent school-leavers who entered working life without marketable skills. These two groups do not profit from the post-school educational opportunities available either because they know nothing about them or because they think them indistinguishable from the sort of education to which they were exposed at school and which they found thoroughly unpalatable. Their inability to profit is not only a personal loss to themselves but a loss to society, for equipped with some useful knowledge and skills they might earn more money, cope better with their material problems and become more active citizens. The object of this collection of studies is to see what can be done by means of direct public together with co-ordinated private measures to get large numbers of disadvantaged adults involved in educational programmes answering to their economic and social needs.

Chapter I considers the implications of what it means to treat the education of disadvantaged adults as a major exemplification of any comprehensive national policy for adult education as advocated in the General Report (Volume I). While stressing that the rhetoric about the importance of serving the educational needs of disadvantaged adults has not been matched by commensurate policies, it points to the progress that has been made. The main conclusion of the chapter is that a proper set of policies implies the adoption of special measures to identify and satisfy the unmet educational needs of the disadvantaged.

The next four chapters consist of country case studies from Australia, Germany, Sweden and the United Kingdom, each carried out under the aegis of the national education authorities. Although each study highlights characteristic national principles and practices, there is parallel treatment of a number of topics so as to facilitate contrasts and comparisons.

Chapter Six deals with the major problem of how to induce disadvantaged adults to participate in adult education. It is argued that those administering adult education programmes have paid far too little attention to the decisive influence of the way information is processed and disseminated. None of the emerging systems of recurrent

education designed to encourage adult learning will improve in efficiency and do justice to the disadvantaged unless stimulating information is comprehensively provided.

The last chapter is devoted to the financial implications of widening the access of the disadvantaged to education, a subject that has so far suffered from a strange neglect. It raises questions which point to the kind of data needed to make sound judgements about policy options. A key section of the chapter states five propositions about programme planning, each having implications for public expenditures.

This volume is the fifth and last of a series which gives a comprehensive view on the present status and future prospects of adult education in OECD Member countries. The series exposes serious deficiencies but also provides ample illustrations of good practice and new ventures. It also attempts to show what kind of national policies and strategies are required to increase public participation in adult education and to improve its overall efficiency in order to meet high priority societal, group and individual learning needs.

PREFACE

Deux catégories de personnes ne tirent pas profit de l'expansion massive de l'enseignement qui a eu lieu dans tous les pays de l'OCDE depuis 1960 environ: ce sont les adultes qui ont interrompu prématurément leur scolarité, et les jeunes qui viennent de quitter l'école pour entrer dans la vie active sans avoir de qualification utilisable sur le marché du travail. Si ces deux catégories de personnes ne tirent pas parti des possibilités d'éducation post-scolaire, c'est soit parce qu'elles n'en connaissent pas l'existence, soit parce qu'elles ne peuvent les dissocier de l'éducation qu'elles ont reçue à l'école et qu'elles trouvaient intolérable. Leur incapacité de bénéficier de ces possibilités ne constitue pas seulement une perte pour les intéressés, mais aussi pour la société, car s'ils avaient quelques connaissances et compétences utiles, il pourraient gagner davantage, mieux faire face à leurs problèmes et devenir des citoyens plus actifs. Cette série d'études a pour objet de mettre en évidence ce qui pourrait être fait, grâce à des mesures directes des pouvoirs publics, associées à des mesures privées, pour que les adultes défavorisés participent en grand nombre aux programmes éducatifs qui pourraient répondre à leurs besoins économiques et sociaux.

Dans le chapitre I on analyse ce qui se passe lorsque l'éducation des adultes défavorisés sert de modèle à une politique d'ensemble d'éducation des adultes, telle qu'elle ressort du Rapport général (volume I). Tout en faisant observer que les grands principes concernant l'importance des besoins des adultes défavorisés et de leur satisfaction n'ont pas toujours reçu d'application concrète, on reconnaît les progrès accomplis. D'après la principale conclusion de ce chapitre, un ensemble cohérent de mesures implique l'adoption de dispositions spéciales destinées à définir les exigences des catégories défavorisées et à les satisfaire.

Les quatre chapitres suivants sont des études de cas respectivement consacrées à l'Allemagne, à l'Australie, au Royaume-Uni et à la Suède et menées à bien sous l'égide des autorités nationales compétentes. L'accent y est mis sur les valeurs et les mesures et programmes caractéristiques du pays considéré, mais certains thèmes communs se retrouvent dans toutes les études de façon à faciliter les comparaisons.

Le chapitre VI aborde un gros problème: comment inciter les adultes défavorisés à tirer profit des possibilités d'instruction qui leur sont offertes. Il semblerait que les responsables de l'administration des programmes d'éducation pour les adultes n'aient pas accordé suffisamment d'attention à l'influence décisive que peut exercer la manière d'exploiter et de diffuser l'information. Aucun des systèmes d'éducation récurrente destinés à encourager les adultes à parfaire leur instruction ne pourra gagner en efficacité, ni vraiment venir en aide aux défavorisés, sans le puissant stimulant d'une information précise et largement diffusée.

Le dernier chapitre est consacré aux incidences financières de l'élargissement de l'accès des défavorisés à l'éducation, question jusqu'ici étrangement négligée. Il soulève également le problème des éléments d'appréciation nécessaires pour pouvoir faire choix, à bon escient, de lignes d'action opportunes. La planification des programmes occupe une grande place dans ce chapitre et fait l'objet de cinq suggestions, dont chacune a des incidences sur le plan des dépenses publiques.

Ce cinquième volume est le dernier d'une série d'études qui sont destinées à donner un tableau complet de l'état actuel et des perspectives d'avenir de l'éducation des adultes dans les pays Membres de l'OCDE. Il fait ressortir de graves insuffisances, mais il donne aussi de nombreux exemples de méthodes avisées et de solutions novatrices. Il essaie, par ailleurs, de montrer quels sont les types de mesures et de stratégies nationales à adopter, non seulement pour augmenter le taux de fréquentation des cours pour adultes et améliorer l'efficacité générale de ce type d'enseignement, mais aussi pour répondre à des besoins de connaissances de caractère sociétal, collectif ou individuel hautement prioritaires.

I

ISSUES, PROBLEMS AND POLICIES

ADULT EDUCATION: MARGINAL OR SIGNIFICANT?

The social significance of education for adults is widely recognised in OECD countries. This recognition, as expressed for example in Learning Opportunities for Adults: General Report,(1) presupposes that "the education of adults is moving from a marginal position in relation to formal education systems to take a more crucial place in society's overall provision for education".(2) Underlying the major policy shift which this represents is the conviction that "a well-endowed, nationwide adult education service has become an essential policy requirement in all modern societies for both social and economic, as well as cultural reasons".(3) Here we are concerned with the education of disadvantaged adults as a specially important exemplification of that policy.

It is increasingly realised that if it is no longer possible to educate for life during the few years of compulsory schooling, then to be deprived of adult or continuing education becomes in itself a form of disadvantage. This view is now maintained by nearly all national education authorities. The dilemma underlying the concern, with adult education as such, and with access to it by disadvantaged groups within the population, was eloquently put in the Final Report of the Third International Conference on Adult Education:

> The provision of more education ... tends to favour most the already well educated; the educationally underprivileged have yet to claim their rights. Adult education is no exception to the rule, for those adults who most need education have been largely neglected - they are the forgotten people. Thus the major task of adult education during the Second Development Decade of the United Nations is to seek out and serve these forgotten people.(4)

1) Vol. I, OECD, Paris, 1977.
2) Ibid., p. 5.
3) Ibid., p. 7.
4) Unesco, Final Report: Third International Conference on Adult Education, Paris, 1972, p. 19.

The Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education recognised at their 1975 meeting in Stockholm that the educational incorporation of these forgotten people would call for policies of inequality in the name of equality and redressing of ancient imbalances. But even as these convictions were being enunciated, the economic weather changed.

As a result, the background to this concern for the disadvantaged has also changed dramatically. During what came to be known as the Age of Affluence, it was intolerable that there should be people in rich societies submerged by poverty, by physical or mental handicap or simply by not having had their share of initial education. Efforts had to be made to increase their life chances. In the name of equality, governments began to pursue active egalitarian policies which they called by various names: for example, "positive discrimination" in Britain, "affirmative action" in the United States.

All this has now changed. While still rich by world standards, the economies of the OECD countries have been marking time or expanding only slowly. The disadvantaged are in focus now not because it seems that at last, for the first time in history, there is abundance in which everyone must share, but because it is essential to temper the wind to the shorn lamb. After an interval of more than 30 years of full employment, "disadvantage" is once again likely to go along with unemployment. Stagflation has recreated this classically deprived group in the population by the million, especially among the young just out of school. Only yesterday, teenagers were the newly-liberated growth market for the so-called youth culture; today many are searching for jobs.

Alongside the recession, major technological developments are transforming the economies of OECD countries. The extent to which microprocessors, fibre optics and other technologies will be associated with economic revival is still unclear, but it now seems unlikely that these societies will, for substantial sections of the population, ever again provide work in traditional forms. Unemployment will not be a problem just for the young. Moreover, because of the vast population movements of the sixties which brought migrant workers from poor countries into the countries enjoying rapid economic growth, today's "disadvantaged man or woman" is often an ethnically displaced person.

As a relevant instrument of policy, which might be able in various ways to mitigate, perhaps even to overcome, some of the disadvantages of being disadvantaged, adult education itself has been caught by this reversal of fortune. The General Report already cited, "Learning Opportunities for Adults", noted the "paradoxical situation" now facing adult education:

> On the one hand, it is admitted to have important social and economic as well as intellectual and recreational functions and this has given it a different dimension in public concern from what it used to have in the past ... on the other hand only a few countries have enunciated an explicit administrative and financial policy on adult education. In most countries, in spite of considerable growth in the last few years, it is not given the resources of a front-rank public service and its provision tends to be fragmentary, under-financed, and under-staffed.(1)

DISADVANTAGED GROUPS: FORGOTTEN OR REMEMBERED PEOPLE

At Tokyo, it was appropriate that widespread international concern about people untouched by affluence, or excluded by disability, or penalised by geography, should find expression in the vivid rhetoric of "the forgotten people". The claims of social justice, the need for better social integration, the increasingly unacceptable waste of human resources for the general good as well as the good of relatively deprived individuals - all converged to make concern with "the disadvantaged" a veritable leitmotiv of social and educational policies during the decade, so that "forgotten" became a less and less apt adjective.

All this attention did not mean, however, that the decade would end with impressive evidence that the problems were well on the way to being solved. Several commentators have quoted a perceptive if cynical caption sequence by the American cartoonist Jules Feiffer. A lugubrious old man sits in a wooden chair and says:

> I used to think I was poor.
> Then they told me I wasn't poor, I was needy.
> Then they told me it was self-defeating to
> think of myself as needy, I was DEPRIVED.
> Then they told me deprived was a bad image,
> I was UNDERPRIVILEGED.
> Then they told me underprivileged was
> over-used, I was DISADVANTAGED.
> I still don't have a dime.
> But I have a GREAT vocabulary.

The general lack of practical progress on any scale no doubt has several causes. Educators have needed time to pioneer and test programmes. Policies have had to be articulated and agreed. Institutions notoriously have difficulty in shifting resources from one set of objectives to another. Political pressure for change is highly

1) Op.cit., pp. 14-15.

selective. Thus, whereas young unemployed men may be a turbulent presence, politicians, however conscientious, do not find themselves under strong and urgent pressure from the public as a whole to adopt major measures in favour of other disadvantaged sections of the population.

This sober appraisal should not obscure the progress that has been achieved on at least three fronts: in the formulation of relevant policies; in the enactment of appropriate legislation; in the pioneering of exemplary projects and programmes. OECD itself has been privileged to play a part in these developments, notably by promoting the idea of recurrent education and pragmatically seeking to identify ways and means of translating the principle of recurrence into a reality. In particular, it has looked at possibilities for restructuring the formal education system so as to facilitate the alternation of study and work both for young people and adults and it has investigated the current status and shown the great potential of paid educational leave schemes. In the present volume, OECD has further attempted to codify some of the positive national experiences of dealing with the disadvantaged adult problem by inviting the authorities in four Member countries to prepare national reports describing and evaluating the current situation: Australia, Britain, Sweden and Germany.

It is acknowledged that not many governments are likely to feel that the worst crisis in capitalism since the 1930s is the most propitious moment at which to remedy shortcomings in the education of adults, that is in a sector of education, the social value of which has only lately been acknowledged. These reports are intended to help Member governments consider some of the available policy options and practical possibilities, both in relation to adult education as a whole and considered from the viewpoint of disadvantaged client groups.

Without ample financing and comprehensive information systems, there is no hope of making a significant impact on the needs of the disadvantaged. The four country reports are complemented, therefore, by studies of two issues absolutely critical for the development of any national policies for the education of disadvantaged adults: a) How are adequate resources to be found and suitable instruments selected for their effective distribution?; b) What information networks are available to attract disadvantaged adults into educational programmes?

The economy is not likely to stay sluggish forever. Steps taken or not taken now, because of the exigencies and discomforts of the recession, could prepare well or badly for the future, if it be remembered that in any eventuality even a revitalised economy may not ensure full employment. Educational provision for the disadvantaged is one of the many areas of social policy where the emphasis has had to

shift abuptly. Concern that no one should be forgotten in a period of abundance has given way to a quite different concern that scarce resources should go to those that need them most.

At such a time, a prepossession with adult education and the disadvantaged could lead into a cul de sac. Or it could become an exemplary area for the formation of policies, the creation of structures and the improvement of provision and practice, with widening implications for the continuing education of the adult population as a whole. Policies need to be formulated and resources allocated in such a way that better times would inherit good foundations and not be inhibited by a clutter of ad hoc measures and empty gestures. The four national reports show that there is already a good deal on the statute books or on the ground, quite enough to provide a promising basis for the implementation of enlightened policies.

All four reports express and commend a double focus. Their theme is not "Learning opportunities for adults" tout court. That might have involved the repetition of work which OECD has already done. Nor is the theme simply "Learning opportunities for disadvantaged adults", since this might distort the very subject itself in some ways. For example, if it is a matter of social policy that certain categories of disadvantaged persons should be integrated with the rest of society as fully as possible, then provision for them cannot properly be considered in isolation. Furthermore, if countries were to concentrate their official efforts exclusively on education for disadvantaged adults, this might imply a weaker commitment on their part to the education of adults as such than to the education of children and young people. Such discrimination might be hard to reconcile with a policy of recurrent education. This project has therefore focused on learning opportunities for disadvantaged adults, but in such a way that it illuminates the larger theme and is illuminated by it. For example, provision for certain kinds of disadvantaged adults might constitute an extreme test of the efficacy of general policies for access to educational opportunities.

ALTERNATIVE POLICIES

Responsibility for the education of disadvantaged adults is shared among a wide variety of agencies. How they are shared depends on many factors, including the form of the disadvantage (consider the difference between being an intelligent spastic, being unemployed and with multiple handicaps, being one of an entire population of economically deprived people); national attitudes; and the availability of resources.

It is to the point to distinguish "educational opportunities for adults", which is the responsibility of many government departments

and non-governmental agencies, from "adult education" which may be the direct or indirect responsibility of ministries of education. There need to be adequate frameworks for the determination of priorities, for the co-ordination of planning, for the formulation of policies and the organisation of programmes, at national, sub-national and local levels.

It follows that this area of policy may provide a test and an illustration of the important conclusions about "Alternative Futures" for adult education envisaged in the final section of the General Report, "Learning Opportunities for Adults", already cited. Conversely, the way forward for theory and action in relation to disadvantaged adults is illuminated by the scheme outlined in that section. It begins by making the following distinctions:

Four possible futures for adult education may be envisaged within OECD Member countries:

a) to let it evolve, as in the past, in a spontaneous and sporadic fashion without reference to any explicit public intervention;
b) to strengthen and co-ordinate the existing range of activities but not to perceive it as an active instrument of public policy in the social and economic arenas;
c) to strengthen and co-ordinate the existing range of activities while simultaneously pursuing a positive policy of support for specific activities judged to be national priorities, for example, secondary education equivalency programmes designed to promote equality;
d) to create a comprehensive service of adult education as an integral element of broadly conceived educational systems and to relate its functions to the social, economic and cultural objectives of the nation.

The Report concludes with two propositions which it regards as "essential".

1) It is essential to adopt a long-term policy based on a judicious mix of alternatives c) and d), depending on national circumstances ...
2) It is essential to:
   i) establish a comprehensive and co-ordinated pluralist service commanding ample public resources;
   ii) relate its functions to such national social concerns as an active manpower policy and the quality of life;
   iii) integrate the formal (academic) and occupational training sector with regular education as part and parcel of a recurrent education system;

iv) initiate extraordinary measures to identify and satisfy unmet educational needs, not least those of persons adjudged to be disadvantaged.(1)

The needs of the disadvantaged are not likely to be systematically, comprehensively or adequately addressed if adult education is merely left to evolve haphazardly as in alternative a) above; the very characteristics of different types of disadvantage, conditioned as they are by economic, social, health and welfare factors, initially rules out alternative b) as an appropriate future in this area of policy. A proper set of policies in relation to the disadvantaged sectors of the population seems to imply support for alternatives c) and d), as already commended in general terms.

The General Report does not conclude by advocating the impossible, as the qualifying adjective long-term makes clear. In the short term governments have three options. First, and most obviously, to focus limited public resources on the needs of the most conspicuously disadvantaged, assuming that private funds (commercial, personal) would sustain general adult education as a marketable service. This approach has the merit that it focuses attention on manifestly disadvantaged minorities and does not constitute in effect an unrealistic total programme for reform. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether programmes designed expressly for particularly disadvantaged people would have the integrative effect intended if they were promoted in isolation from general adult education provision. Furthermore, it would be easy for competitions for inadequate resources to develop between adult education in general and adult education for disadvantaged minorities.

The second approach takes more account of the contention that to be cut off from adult education is itself a major disadvantage. In this approach, governments may prefer policies and programmes designed to overcome the educational limitations of present forms of provision, on account of which most people are said to be disadvantaged. Apart from the drawback that this approach may be too ambitious for some governments to contemplate when education budgets need to be held steady, it would be possible to embark on a general reform of adult education which yet still managed to neglect the needs of particularly disadvantaged minorities. Clever paraplegics, for example, did not benefit as much from the world-wide expansion of higher education in the 1960s as their physically normal peers. In this context, the contribution of the Open University in Britain seems exemplary, and the reference indicates a possible third approach. Policies and programmes designed, in phases as necessary, to reform

1) Op.cit., pp. 80-81.

the provision of educational opportunities for adults, at each stage taking account of the specific needs of particular disadvantaged minorities.

This third approach, which combines equity with political and economic realism, is to be commended, not least for the integrative effect which it could have on adult education as such (as a sector of the education system). The multidimensional nature of "disadvantage" is likely to induce such a synthesising of resources. The organisational problem should not be minimised. It should be stressed again that concepts and traditions of adult education, as a key part of the education of adults, vary from place to place but are everywhere complex (measured, for example, against the relative simplicity and singularity of the school system in most countries). Thus in any one country, a number of government ministries must be involved in it. Departments of agriculture, employment, health and others are at least as likely (in some countries, more likely) to have policies for adult education as the ministry actually responsible for education. In relation to various forms of disadvantage, a range of voluntary organisations and interest groups are also likely to promote education work. The case studies in the associated national reports have different emphases. They show how in practice educational provision for variously disadvantaged adults may stem from the main adult education system; or it may be a by-product of endeavours which are primarily to do with welfare, or employment, or economic renewal; or again it may be achieved by voluntary bodies concerned with any aspect of disadvantage.

When considering either the availability of resources or participating institutions, it should be remembered that in all OECD countries, the extension of educational opportunities to adults increasingly involves making fruitful use of the mass media and other means of communication, especially broadcasting. The range and variety of interventions by broadcasters was studied and demonstrated at a seminar for practising broadcasters at Basle in 1974, organised by the European Broadcasting Union, and the inventive use of broadcasting for education related to disadvantage is mentioned in the national studies, particularly in the paper from the United Kingdom.

It is important that policies should be tested and that practical projects should be assessed and evaluated. The relevance of education to some forms of disadvantage is easy to see and not always difficult in practice to evaluate and confirm, for example, when an adult learns a practical skill despite blindness, or successfully overcomes the blocks to illiteracy. There are often forms of disadvantage where it is not clear what the educational task is or whether it is susceptible to educational treatment at all. Consider the multiple disadvantages of poor people living in some of the worst

inner city conditions. Are they trapped in a cycle of deprivation such that parents who cannot cope with their lives and environment have children who repeat their parents' inadequacies? If they are, education might be relevant. If the cycle is, however, created by the barren economy of the city centre, does that make educational activity an irrelevant sop to the conscience of authority, or is it playing a vitally humane role in helping people deal with situations from which most of them could never escape? Where should public money be spent - on houses? On encouraging employment? On education? These difficult issues need to be publicly scrutinised and vigorously argued. They require both data and debate.

LES DIVERS ASPECTS DE LA QUESTION, LES DIFFICULTES ET LES GRANDES LIGNES D'ACTION

RESUME

La valeur que la formation des adultes revêt du point de vue social est largement reconnue dans les pays Membres de l'OCDE. Cette conviction, qui a été exprimée, par exemple, dans le premier volume, intitulé Possibilités de formation pour les adultes: Rapport général (1), repose sur le postulat que "la formation des adultes perd progressivement son statut marginal par rapport à l'institution scolaire et universitaire, et tend au contraire à occuper dans le système éducatif des sociétés modernes une place beaucoup plus centrale"(2). La grande réorientation qu'implique cette attitude nouvelle a été opérée dans l'idée qu'il était d'une "absolue nécessité politique, pour des raisons à la fois économiques et sociales ainsi que culturelles, de prévoir dans toutes les sociétés modernes un système d'éducation pour adultes pourvu de moyens suffisants et fonctionnant à l'échelon du pays tout entier"(3). Nous examinerons la formation destinée aux adultes défavorisés, à titre d'illustration particulièrement révélatrice de cette ligne d'action nouvelle.

Selon une opinion de plus en plus courante, dès lors qu'il est devenu impossible de dispenser une instruction utile pour toute la durée de la vie pendant les quelques années que dure l'enseignement obligatoire, les personnes qui ne peuvent suivre une formation pour adultes ou une formation permanente sont, de ce seul fait, défavorisées. Dans presque tous les pays, les autorités nationales de l'enseignement sont maintenant de cet avis.

Lors de sa session de 1975 à Stockholm, la Conférence permanente des ministres européens de l'Education avait déclaré que pour faire bénéficier de cette formation les catégories de personnes oubliées, il fallait adopter des mesures discriminatoires au nom de l'égalité, afin de pouvoir redresser ce déséquilibre de longue date. Cependant, au moment même où ce principe était énoncé, le climat économique se

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1) OCDE, Paris, 1977.
2) Ibidem, p. 5.
3) Ibidem, p. 7.

modifiait. Bien qu'elle demeurât riche par rapport aux normes mondiales, l'économie des pays de l'OCDE commençait à marquer le pas ou ne poursuivait son expansion qu'avec lenteur. Si les groupes défavorisés de la population retiennent l'intérêt de nos jours, c'est non point dans l'idée que, pour la première fois dans l'histoire de l'humanité, il existe une abondance dont chacun doit avoir sa part, mais parce qu'il faut autant que possible rendre ces groupes moins vulnérables. En effet, après plus de trente ans de plein emploi, la catégorie des "personnes défavorisées" risque fort de coïncider avec celle des chômeurs. La stagflation a de nouveau grossi par milliers les rangs de ce groupe défavorisé de la population, en particulier parmi les adolescents qui viennent de quitter l'école. Il y a peu de temps encore, ces adolescents constituaient le nouveau marché en pleine expansion de la prétendue "civilisation des jeunes". Aujourd'hui, nombre d'entre eux sont en quête d'un emploi.

De pair avec la récession, les grandes innovations techniques sont en train de transformer complètement l'économie des pays de l'OCDE. On ne sait pas encore jusqu'à quel point les microprocesseurs, l'optique des fibres et d'autres techniques contribueront à ranimer l'activité économique, mais il paraît désormais inconcevable que cette société puisse, un jour ou l'autre, de nouveau procurer à d'importantes couches de la société du travail sous les formes que l'on connaissait jusqu'à présent. Le chômage ne se limitera pas uniquement aux adolescents. En outre, les grands mouvements de migration qui ont fait affluer, entre 1960 et 1970, des travailleurs des pays pauvres dans les pays qui bénéficiaient d'une économie en expansion rapide ont eu pour effet qu'à l'heure actuelle, les personnes défavorisées appartiennent souvent à un groupe ethnique étranger.

L'absence générale de progrès tangibles, fussent-ils minimes, dans la satisfaction des besoins des personnes défavorisées tient sans doute à plusieurs raisons. Les pédagogues ont eu besoin de temps pour élaborer de nouveaux programmes et les mettre à l'épreuve. Les mesures ont d'abord dû être formulées et approuvées. Les établissements éprouvent des difficultés notoires à transférer leurs ressources d'un ensemble d'objectifs à un autre. Les revendications d'ordre politique en faveur d'un changement sont très sélectives. Par conséquent, même si la présence de jeunes chômeurs est une cause d'agitations, les hommes politiques, si conscients qu'ils soient de la situation, ne sont pas soumis à des sollicitations énergiques et pressantes de la part de l'ensemble de la population afin qu'ils adoptent d'importantes mesures en faveur de nouveaux groupes défavorisés de la population.

Cette description sommaire ne devrait toutefois pas masquer les progrès qui ont été accomplis dans trois domaines au moins, à savoir: celui de la formulation des mesures nécessaires, de l'adoption des textes législatifs correspondants et du lancement de programmes et de

projets pilotes. L'OCDE a eu le privilège de jouer un rôle dans cette évolution, notamment du fait qu'elle a plaidé en faveur du principe d'une éducation récurrente et cherché de façon pragmatique comment il pourrait être appliqué. En particulier, elle s'est demandé sous quelle forme le système d'enseignement scolaire pourrait être réorganisé afin qu'il offre aussi bien aux adolescents qu'aux adultes la possibilité d'alterner l'étude et le travail, elle a examiné la situation présente et montré les grands avantages que procureraient des systèmes de congés de formation payés. Avec le présent volume, l'OCDE a également tenté de constituer un recueil des mesures prometteuses mises en oeuvre à l'échelon national pour remédier aux difficultés des adultes défavorisés. A cet effet, elle a demandé aux autorités compétentes de quatre de ses pays Membres, l'Allemagne, l'Australie, le Royaume-Uni et la Suède, de décrire et d'évaluer la situation actuelle dans des rapports nationaux.

Certes, l'OCDE se rend parfaitement compte que, dans quelques pays seulement, les pouvoirs publics seront enclins à estimer que la crise la plus grave que le capitalisme ait traversée depuis 1930 est le moment le plus favorable pour combler les lacunes de la formation des adultes, secteur de l'enseignement dont l'importance sociale n'est reconnue que depuis peu. Ces rapports ont été demandés dans l'espoir qu'ils seront utiles aux gouvernements des pays Membres dans l'examen de certaines options et possibilités d'action qui s'offrent à eux pour améliorer la formation des adultes en général et celle qui est destinée aux catégories défavorisées de la population en particulier.

En l'absence de vastes modalités de financement et de systèmes complets d'information, il serait vain de croire que les mesures envisagées pourront apporter une aide appréciable aux personnes défavorisées. C'est pourquoi les quatre rapports nationaux ont été complétés par l'étude de deux questions dont l'examen est absolument indispensable à la mise au point de toute politique nationale de formation pour les adultes défavorisés:

a) Comment trouver les ressources nécessaires et choisir des modalités qui garantiront que leur répartition sera efficace.

b) Quels sont les réseaux d'information dont on dispose pour signaler l'existence de ces programmes de formation aux adultes défavorisés?

L'activité économique ne demeurera toutefois pas éternellement en stagnation. Selon les dispositions que l'on décidera de prendre ou de ne pas prendre, face aux impératifs et aux malaises qui découlent de la récession, on créera des conditions favorables ou néfastes pour l'avenir, car il ne faut pas oublier qu'en tout état de cause, même une reprise de l'activité économique ne garantira pas nécessairement le plein-emploi. La création de possibilités d'instruction pour les personnes défavorisées est l'une des nombreuses

sphères de la politique sociale dans lesquelles l'ordre de priorité a dû être brusquement modifié. Le désir de n'oublier personne en une ère d'abondance a cédé la place au souci, entièrement différent, d'allouer les ressources devenues rares à ceux qui en ont le plus besoin.

LES DIVERSES ACTIONS POSSIBLES

La formation destinée aux adultes défavorisés relève d'organismes extrêmement divers, et la répartition des compétences dépend de plusieurs critères et circonstances, ainsi, de la raison pour laquelle certaines personnes sont défavorisées (il y a par exemple une différence entre un paraplégique intelligent, un chômeur affligé de nombreux handicaps, ou le membre de tout un groupe de personnes défavorisées sur le plan économique), des attitudes qui ont cours dans le pays et des ressources disponibles.

Il convient ici d'établir une distinction entre les possibilités de formation pour les adultes, qui sont du ressort de plusieurs départements ministériels et d'organismes non gouvernementaux, et l'éducation des adultes, qui peut être de la compétence directe ou indirecte du ministère de l'Education. Des institutions adéquates doivent être créées à l'échelon national, régional et local pour déterminer les ordres de priorité, coordonner la planification, formuler les grandes lignes d'action et organiser les programmes.

Il en résulte que ce domaine de l'action gouvernementale peut servir de banc d'essai et d'illustration aux conclusions importantes présentées sous le titre "Comment envisager l'avenir" dans le dernier chapitre du Rapport général, Possibilités de formation pour les adultes, déjà cité. Inversement, le plan esquissé dans ce chapitre éclaire la voie à suivre pour définir les principes et les mesures à adopter à l'égard des adultes défavorisés. Il commence par la mise au point suivante :

> Il existe quatre manières différentes d'envisager l'avenir de l'éducation des adultes dans les pays Membres de l'OCDE. Ceux-ci peuvent :
>
> a) la laisser se développer comme par le passé, de façon spontanée et sporadique, sans intervention explicite des pouvoirs publics;
> b) renforcer et coordonner la gamme des activités existantes sans y voir un instrument actif de leur politique économique et sociale;
> c) renforcer et coordonner la gamme des activités existantes tout en poursuivant une politique positive de soutien à l'égard de certaines activités particulières qui bénéficient

d'une priorité nationale, telles que la formation industrielle et les programmes d'équivalence de l'enseignement secondaire;

d) créer un service polyvalent d'éducation des adultes qui fasse partie intégrante d'un système d'enseignement très largement conçu et dont le fonctionnement soit étroitement lié aux objectifs sociaux, économiques et culturels du pays.

La conclusion de ce rapport consiste en deux propositions jugées indispensables.

1) Il est nécessaire "d'adopter une politique à long terme reposant sur un mélange judicieux des options c) et d), compte tenu des spécificités nationales ...."
2) "Il est indispensable de :
   i) mettre sur pied un secteur public polyvalent et coordonné et de le doter de toutes les ressources nécessaires;
   ii) relier son action aux préoccupations sociales de la nation et notamment à une politique active de main-d'oeuvre et à la qualité de la vie;
   iii) intégrer l'enseignement scolaire et le secteur de la formation professionnelle dans le cadre d'un système d'éducation récurrente;
   iv) instaurer des mesures particulières pour définir les besoins éducatifs non satisfaits, en particulier ceux des catégories dites défavorisées, et pour y faire face"(1).

Il sera sans doute impossible de couvrir de façon systématique, complète ou satisfaisante les besoins des personnes défavorisées si on laisse l'éducation des adultes se développer simplement au hasard, comme il est envisagé dans la possibilité a) citée plus haut. Etant donné qu'elles sont déterminées par les circonstances économiques, les conditions sociales, l'état de santé et le mode de vie, les caractéristiques propres aux diverses catégories de personnes défavorisées interdisent à elles seules d'envisager la possibilité b) pour les mesures à prendre à l'avenir dans ce domaine de l'action gouvernementale. Si l'on veut créer un train de mesures judicieuses pour les groupes défavorisés de la population, il semble que le choix doive porter sur les possibilités c) et d), comme on l'avait déjà dit dans les recommandations générales.

Le Rapport général ne s'achève pas sur un plaidoyer en faveur de l'impossible, comme en témoigne le qualificatif "à long terme". Dans

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1) Op.cit., pp. 88-89.

l'immédiat, les pouvoirs publics ont le choix entre trois méthodes. La première, qui est celle qui vient immédiatement à l'esprit, consisterait à utiliser les ressources publiques limitées pour couvrir les besoins des personnes les plus manifestement défavorisées, en partant de l'idée que des fonds privés (commerciaux et particuliers) financeront la formation des adultes en général sur une base commerciale. Cette méthode a l'avantage d'attirer l'attention sur les minorités manifestement défavorisées et conduit à un programme général de réforme qui n'est pas irréalisable. Cependant, on peut se demander si des mesures spécialement conçues pour des personnes particulièrement défavorisées auront l'effet d'intégration recherché du moment qu'elles sont appliquées indépendamment des services généraux d'éducation des adultes. En outre, elles pourraient facilement inciter la formation des adultes en général et celle qui est destinée aux adultes défavorisés à rivaliser entre elles dans les démarches qu'elles entreprendront pour s'assurer leur part des maigres ressources existantes.

La deuxième méthode tient davantage compte de l'idée que le fait d'être exclu de l'éducation des adultes est à lui seul un sérieux handicap. Dans cette optique, les pouvoirs publics préféreront peut-être des mesures conçues pour remédier aux failles que présentent les formes actuelles d'enseignement, qui passent pour être à l'origine de l'existence de la plupart de ces groupes de personnes défavorisées. Abstraction faite de l'inconvénient qu'elle présente de paraître sans doute trop ambitieuse pour que les pouvoirs publics de certains pays puissent l'envisager à une époque où le budget de l'enseignement ne peut être augmenté, cette méthode risque aussi de se traduire par une réforme générale de l'éducation des adultes qui négligera encore les besoins de groupes minoritaires particulièrement défavorisés. On peut citer à ce propos les paraplégiques intelligents, qui n'ont pas bénéficié autant, pendant les années 1960 à 1970, de l'expansion universelle de l'enseignement supérieur que les personnes en bonne santé d'une intelligence égale à la leur. Dans ces cas, la Open University britannique a apporté une aide exemplaire et illustre une troisième méthode. Il s'agit de mesures échelonnées en autant de phases que les circonstances l'exigent, qui ont pour but de réformer les possibilités d'éducation des adultes et qui tiennent compte dans chaque phase des besoins spéciaux de groupes minoritaires particulièrement défavorisés.

Cette troisième méthode, dans laquelle le principe de l'équité s'allie aux réalités politiques et économiques, est hautement recommandable, ne serait-ce qu'en raison de l'effet d'intégration qu'elle pourrait avoir sur l'éducation des adultes (en tant que secteur distinct du système d'enseignement). La diversité des catégories de personnes défavorisées semble aller dans le sens d'une telle centralisation des ressources, dont on ne saurait toutefois négliger les

difficultés du point de vue de l'organisation. Il convient de rappeler une fois de plus que les principes et les traditions qui sont à la base de l'éducation des adultes varient d'un endroit à l'autre mais qu'elles sont toujours complexes (si on les compare à la simplicité et à l'uniformité relative du système scolaire de la plupart des pays). Par conséquent, dans chaque pays, l'éducation des adultes est nécessairement du ressort de plusieurs ministères, et c'est pourquoi ceux de l'Agriculture, du Travail, de la Santé publique et d'autres encore prennent autant de mesures en faveur de l'éducation des adultes (et, dans quelques pays, même plus) que le ministère de l'Education. A cela s'ajoute que des organisations bénévoles et des associations de tout ordre offrent elles aussi une formation à des groupes particuliers de personnes défavorisées. Il ressort des études de cas présentées dans les rapports nationaux que les solutions adoptées diffèrent. Elles montrent que, dans la pratique, la formation destinée aux divers groupes d'adultes défavorisés peut être organisée par le système principal d'éducation des adultes, constituer un service fourni accessoirement au titre de l'assistance sociale, de la politique en faveur de l'emploi ou de l'encouragement de l'activité économique, ou être due à l'initiative d'organismes bénévoles qui s'occupent d'une catégorie particulière d'adultes défavorisés.

Dans l'examen des ressources existantes ou des organismes compétents, on ne saurait oublier que dans tous les pays de l'OCDE, l'expansion des possibilités de formation des adultes repose de plus en plus sur une utilisation judicieuse des grands moyens de communication, et en particulier de la radiodiffusion. L'Union européenne de radiodiffusion avait organisé en 1974 à Bâle, à l'intention des sociétés de radiodiffusion, un séminaire consacré à des séances d'étude et de démonstration des diverses formes sous lesquelles peuvent être conçues les émissions radiodiffusées. Dans les rapports nationaux, notamment dans celui du Royaume-Uni, on a mentionné les formes nouvelles sous lesquelles la radiodiffusion a été utilisée pour adapter la formation des adultes défavorisés en fonction de leurs handicaps.

Il est essentiel que les mesures soient mises à l'épreuve et que les projets réalisés fassent l'objet d'une évaluation. Les avantages que certaines catégories de personnes défavorisées peuvent retirer de l'instruction sont évidents, et il n'est pas toujours difficile, dans la pratique, de les évaluer et de les corroborer. Il suffira de songer à la formation qui permet à un adulte aveugle d'apprendre un métier en dépit de son infirmité ou d'échapper à l'analphabétisme. Cependant, pour certaines catégories de personnes défavorisées, on ne voit pas très bien quel objectif la formation devrait viser, ni même si une instruction leur sera utile. On citera à ce propos les handicaps nombreux dont sont victimes les pauvres qui vivent dans les quartiers les plus misérables du centre des villes. Sont-ils condamnés à un cycle de misère tel que les enfants de couples qui ne peuvent

se sortir de leurs conditions de vie et de leur milieu souffriront nécessairement de la même incapacité que leurs parents? Si tel est le cas, l'instruction pourra les aider. Si, en revanche, ce cycle est dû à l'économie stérile du centre des villes, ces activités de formation se borneront-elles simplement à donner bonne conscience aux autorités, ou bien auront-elles une valeur humaine essentielle, du fait qu'elles aideront ces personnes à faire face à des situations auxquelles la plupart d'entre elles n'ont jamais pu échapper? A quelle fin faut-il utiliser les deniers de l'Etat? Au logement? A la création d'emplois? A l'enseignement? Ces questions ardues doivent être examinées publiquement et discutées à fond. Il faut les étayer par des faits et leur consacrer des débats.

II

WIDENING ACCESS TO THE DISADVANTAGED
AN AUSTRALIAN CASE STUDY

by Christopher Duke

INTRODUCTION

Australia is a Federation of six states. Education is principally a state responsibility, although there is an Australian Commonwealth Department of Education and a Schools Commission, also three Commissions for post-secondary education which are about to be combined as a Tertiary Education Commission. The Australian Capital Territory and the Northern Territory have separate educational administrations, overseen by the Commonwealth Department. Caution must therefore be exercised in speaking about policies and strategies for adult education in Australia, since there are in reality eight education systems rather than one.

One in every three of Australia's fourteen million people is a product of post-war migration. Most Australians live in the large capital city metropolitan areas, although there is also a minority, which because of the large distances within the continent, live in very remote circumstances. These include mining as well as farming and pastoral communities, and Aboriginal groups. The overseas-born population has until recently been differentiated popularly as between English-speaking, usually British-born, and other mostly European-born, groups, often referred to as New Australians, or simply as migrants. (Strictly speaking, these should be called immigrants rather than migrants; they should not be confused with the migrant labour of Europe.) Recently there has been an officially encouraged tendency to refer to different language and national groups as ethnic groups rather than migrants, thus emphasising their continuing membership of the society, and giving some support to the idea of cultural diversity. Among these groups is included, for instance within the brief of the recently established Community Relations Commission, the Australian Aboriginal population, which has become more politically conscious and visible during the present decade. Assertions of cultural and linguistic diversity by different ethnic groups attract some hostility and resentment. However, there has been no suggestion that they

constitute a threat to the security or unity of the country, as is the case with several of Australia's Asian neighbours. This increased acceptance and endorsement of ethnic and language diversity has enhanced the tendency for non-English speaking groups to be accepted and defined as a major "disadvantaged group" for adult education as for several other areas of policy and provision. Other well recognised "disadvantaged groups" include the Aboriginal population, both tribally-oriented Aborigines and the part-Aborigines of rural and metropolitan areas, and also the geographically disadvantaged outback population, which includes Aboriginal as well as non-Aboriginal communities.

Apart from these differences, Australia's social and political circumstances, as these relate to an understanding of who are the disadvantaged, would not be strikingly unfamiliar to an observer from other industrialised societies in OECD.

Australia lacks a strong planning tradition. In this it is more like the generality of OECD Member States than its regional neighbours. A period of stronger central planning and attempted direction under a federal Labour Administration in the early seventies has been followed by something of a reaction in favour of the states, and of private enterprise rather than government planning and expenditure. General strategies of the major political parties do not however differ in essentials. Decentralisation is accorded at least verbal respect by both major parties. Although there is a trend towards reducing rather than increasing the level of government expenditure in welfare areas at present, there continues to be widespread official examination of the institutions and assumptions of most areas of society, a practice instituted earlier this decade.

This tendency to examine all areas of social activity and government administration, by means of commissions, committees and working parties, is well developed in the field of education. At the same time, the laissez-faire and centrifugal traditions of Australia mean that there is little common ground for defining and adopting a positive strategy towards "disadvantaged groups", whether we are considering learning opportunities for adults or any other aspect of disadvantage. There is a lack of consensus as to whether disadvantage is socially and politically caused or whether, rather, it is a product of individual failing and irresponsibility. The lack of consensus is well displayed in present differences of perception as to causes of and responsibility for unemployment, highlighted in disputes about "dole bludgers".

On the one hand, then, there is widespread questioning and investigation of social structures and social and administrative assumptions; this has included inquiries, state and federal, into different areas and aspects of education. On the other hand, there is suspiciousness of government planning and administration. (With its

small population and multiplication of parliamentary and public servants, Australia could be described as over-governed, and yet somewhat impoverished at the level of local government.) The education system has come under scrutiny during this decade, by means of special inquiries as well as through the regular system of reports of the federal education Commissions. In particular, post-school education has attracted attention, and most states and territories have instituted inquiries intended to lead to better rationalised post-secondary provision. Concern with disadvantage and unequal opportunity is a common theme of these inquiries. There is also a growing tendency to adopt a recurrent or lifelong education perspective, as also on the part of some of the federal bodies which recommend on policy development. This may be seen in recent triennial reports of each of the federal Commissions, in the areas in which the federal Education Research and Development Committee is inviting research proposals, and in the terms of reference of the major national Inquiry into Education and Training chaired by Professor Bruce Williams. As yet, this widespread questioning and doubting of the formal, especially the post-school, education system(s), even though linked to an Australian tradition of egalitarianism and sympathy for the underdog, has not led to any systematic public thought or discussion about learning opportunities for disadvantaged adults.

This report is therefore restricted to reviewing recent inquiries which impinge directly or tangentially on this theme, to a consideration of present consensus and confusion about definitions, to (the absence of) relevant special-purpose legislation, and to special provision for access by disadvantaged groups, both those which are peculiarly Australian - the geographically remote, Aborigines, "migrants" - and the various other disadvantaged groups common to most OECD countries, as listed in OECD and other papers on the subject. The final section attempts some appraisal and consideration of implications which, because of the present stage of provision and understanding, must necessarily be a speculation about possible future strategies rather than a description of strategies agreed and adopted at present.

RECENT INQUIRIES

Although the world-wide questioning of the formal school system is mirrored in governmental inquiries and professional discussions within Australia, there has been little official or other public examination specifically of the role of adult education and the needs of disadvantaged groups. The Australian Schools Commission has displayed concern about educational disadvantage at school level, particularly the education of girls and of Aborigines. Section Three of

its Report for the 1976-78 triennium includes chapters on four educationally disadvantaged groups, country children, girls, migrant children and Aborigines. The Commission's Aboriginal Consultative Group, which undertook inquiries wider than schooling, led to the formation of a National Aboriginal Education Committee, which first met in April 1977. The Schools Commission also convened a consultative group on recurrent education, and gave some encouragement to experimentation with recurrent education, cautiously however, partly because the subject would take the Commission beyond the scope of its brief, partly from concern that, badly handled, transition to a recurrent model of education might exacerbate rather than reduce inequality. While the connection between adult age educational opportunities and educational disadvantage is thus recognised, the Schools Commission has stopped short of recommending more than cautious experimentation.

The two tertiary commissions, the Australian Universities Commission and the Commission on Advanced Education, have expressed general rather than specific support for access for disadvantaged groups. At the request of the then Minister for Education, the Universities Commission appointed a Committee on Open University, which issued a final report in December 1974. The Committee was at least implicitly concerned to reduce educational disadvantage, whether caused by cultural, social or economic factors, while recognising that much educational disadvantage occurs well before the point of entry to tertiary education. The Committee favoured a National Institute of Open Tertiary Education, rather than a new distinct university, to encourage more open access on the part of tertiary institutions in general. In the event, neither NIOTE nor the new university which it was intended to establish at Albury-Wodonga with special responsibility for providing open education have come into being, and it seems that, in the new circumstances of minimal growth and possible contraction of the tertiary sector, re-allocation of resources to favour disadvantaged adults will be hard to achieve.

The most recently created Commission for post-school education, the Technical and Further Education Commission, has from the outset placed emphasis on open learning opportunities for adults. Itself representing the least well financed sector of formal education, it has espoused a lifelong and recurrent philosophy of education, which enhances its potential sympathy with the needs of disadvantaged groups. The first TAFE Report, published in 1974, devoted most of a chapter on concepts and goals to the question of access, and considered in turn general barriers to access, and the particular needs of women, country persons, handicapped persons, and different ethnic groups. The second TAFE Report in 1975 examined more fully the concept of recurrent education which was alluded to in the First Report, and explored in more

detail the scope of adult education in Australia for which, as was acknowledged in the First Report, the TAFE Commission was to assume responsibility. This Report, while supporting the activity of adult education in general, and seeking means of assisting it without altering its character or subverting the voluntary and liberal elements of the tradition, was tentative as to the appropriate scope and nature of its support. There was no direct reference to the role of adult education in relation to disadvantage, perhaps because of the rather specific and narrow understanding of adult education here employed.

The TAFE Report for the 1977-79 triennium referred to such disadvantaged groups as women, older workers and unemployed youth but did not take consideration of purposes further; nor does the section specifically on adult education make any explicit reference to the needs of disadvantaged groups.

In October 1976 the Aboriginal Consultative Group to the Schools Commission produced a report on Aboriginal access to and use of technical and further education. It found that Aborigines, being heavily socially disadvantaged, had low rates of participation in TAFE, more markedly in rural than urban areas. TAFE institutions were thought not to be meeting Aboriginal needs because of lack of contact and inflexibility of provision. Aborigines were seen as lacking in knowledge of facilities available, having different cultural orientations and social aspirations, and lacking adequate schooling. The Report recommends both immediate and longer-term action as well as further research.

A report on the further education needs of tribal Aborigines in northern Australia by Duke and Sommerlad, Design for Diversity, was also published in 1976. Financed by the Darwin Community College and the Commonwealth Department of Education, this report emphasised the need for flexible decentralised forms of provision of TAFE responsive to the particular cultures and circumstances of diverse Aboriginal communities, rather than relying almost entirely on standard centralised courses provided for the general population.

1976 also saw the OECD country examination of the Australian education system, with emphasis on the transition from school to work and the educational opportunities and options available to the young adult. An Australian Education Council Working Party produced, in June 1976, a report on the transition from secondary education to employment. A chapter on special groups considered in turn the educational and career needs of the handicapped (mentally retarded, socially maladjusted, those with hearing loss), migrants, girls, Aborigines, and country school leavers. All were seen as suffering major disadvantage in the transition from school to work. Because of its focus on school-work transition and the need for employment opportunities and career guidance at this point, the report does not explicitly consider further and adult education needs of disadvantaged

groups. However, the whole report is concerned with what is in a sense a recently identified disadvantaged group, young adults for whom employment has become increasingly difficult, especially those who are socially, culturally or economically disadvantaged in some other sense also. The report is careful not to encourage unreasonable expectations for employment of the education system but looks for more flexibility to make re-entry to education for young people easier.

Responsibility for child and adult migrant education passed in 1974 from the former Department of Immigration to the Department of Education. The Minister for Education has therefore reported on this programme for each of the last three financial years. Australia's immigration policy has changed in recent years; with the reducation in the immigration programme, there has been less emphasis on newly arrived migrants compared with those already here. English language instruction has continued to be the main form of provision. At the same time, recent annual reports display awareness of other problems encountered by immigrants both in the work-place and at home, an awareness reflected in the greater diversification of educational programmes and media of instruction to match the circumstances of different groups within the migrant population. Following the full transfer of the function to the Department of Education in April 1975 a departmental working party reported in 1976 on the scope and effectiveness of the programme. This report emphasised that the programme was designed to educate migrants generally in matters relevant to the settlement process, and was not just a matter of English language teaching.

The Commissioner for Community Relations, appointed under the 1975 Racial Discrimination Act, presented his substantial First Annual Report (to the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs) in 1976. Although this is not strictly a report about education, it displays an educative and preventative approach. The report sets out the Commissioner's first and second priorities as i) combating prejudice in the educational sphere, and ii) public information designed to improve intercultural exchange and recognition, notably through the development of ethnic radio.

The Commissioner himself in 1976 accepted co-option to the Executive of the Australian Association of Adult Education. He and his staff, in many addresses as well as in the report, have shown that they see their task as educating all Australians towards acceptance of a multi-cultural society, as a long-term strategy for reducing prejudice and consequent disadvantage to the various ethnic groups, both immigrant and Aboriginal.

The annual reports of the Commonwealth Department of Aboriginal Affairs make reference to adult education for this severely disadvantaged group in different contexts such as community development and

vocational training, as well as in the chapter specifically on education. The most recent such report, for 1975-76, pointing out the increasing demands made on Aboriginal adults to assume responsibilities, give advice and make decisions, comments on the inadequacy of present training and development opportunities and declares an intention on the part of the Department to give increasing priority to adult education.

In October 1976 a Select Committee of the House of Representatives on Specific Learning Disabilities reported on Learning Difficulties in Children and Adults. In fact the report is devoted mostly to the needs of children; one chapter discusses adult literacy problems. It acknowledges that there is a substantial illiteracy problem, and that the major TAFE sector has a poor record of work in this area. Among commendable attempts to tackle the problem in the adult education area are noted the Victorian Council of Adult Education's project which resulted in the report The Way Out (1974) and the NSW Adult Migrant Education Centre's "Operation Literacy": '"Operation Literacy" establishes classes on the principle that one student constitutes a class but usually finds that when a class is established they soon have half a dozen students to fill it.' The Committee proposed that the TAFE authority in each state should co-ordinate literacy provision, and that the ABC should follow the example and use the material of the BBC, establishing a similar programme in Australia.

Also in October 1976 the Australian Association of Adult Education arranged a conference on adult literacy as part of its annual conference. The discussions and proceedings of that conference led in turn to the creation of an Australian Council of Adult Literacy which is convening a national conference, "Towards a Literate Society", in May 1977. As in Britain, illiterate adults have quite recently and suddenly been recognised as a significant, hidden, disadvantaged group which has generated considerable non-governmental concern and effort.

The Commission of Inquiry into Poverty in Australia, established in 1972 and broadened in 1973 by the nomination, inter alia, of Dr. R. T. Fitzgerald as a Commissioner on Education and Poverty, issued its Fifth Main Report, Poverty and Education in Australia, in June 1976. Among its publications in the Poverty and Education Series there also appeared in 1976 Lifelong Education and Poor People: Three Studies. The three papers examine in turn the predicament of a group of very poor families in Melbourne (Brotherhood of St. Lawrence), the causes of non-participation in continuing education (Dr. Nicolas Haines), and the concept of a community college (Professor John Dennison). Although the Fitzgerald Report takes the outcomes of schooling as a focal point, its approach is broad. Lifelong learning concepts are prominent in the report, which considers alternative

arrangements for schooling, and the development of an alternative system based on the concept of lifelong learning: "we concentrated on investigating the outcomes of schooling in order to explore the potential value of further education ..." It proceeds from a consideration of the unequal outcomes of schooling, and the "children at risk" of such disadvantaged groups as migrant and rural communities, to chapters dealing in turn with learning and work, including re-entry to learning and discrimination against migrants, and Aboriginal education, including adult education. The report recommends, inter alia, that "people who do not undertake consecutively the twelve years of free schooling provided in government schools be enabled to resume their interrupted schooling, if they so desire, either full time or part time and at no cost to themselves". Pilot part-time work part-time study projects are recommended, also additional funds to expand literacy programmes. A national inquiry into post-secondary education is sought which would give particular priority to disadvantaged groups in access to and use of existing and alternative services.

The Commonwealth Committee of Inquiry into Education and Training, established in 1976, contains among its terms of reference both the provision of recurrent education and accessibility of provision, including the problems of such special groups as the handicapped, ethnic groups, Aborigines and women, and government services to meet the particular needs of such special groups. Another Commonwealth advisory body, the Education Research and Development Committee, for the first time in 1977 specified priority areas in which it wished particularly to encourage and support research during the triennium 1978-80; two of the four areas nominated were recurrent education and education for a multi-cultural society. Although perhaps coincidental, these terms of reference and areas for research and development suggest that adult education for disadvantaged groups is gradually coming into focus as a concern of policy-makers in education.

The Fitzgerald Report chapter on Aboriginal education considered extrinsic factors - poverty, health, housing and lack of facilities - and also such intrinsic factors as cultural differences, low self-esteem and white attitudes. The chapter includes sections on adult education (sub-titled "prerequisite for control"), self-determination in schools, and community education. The report recommends the creation of a National Aboriginal Education Commission (the body established in 1977 has the same initials but has the status of an advisory Committee, not a statutory Commission); other recommendations relating specifically to Aboriginal adult education include localisation of educational facilities, provision of flexible education facilities in traditional areas offering a range of training, together with mobile training units, and courses to train Aboriginal administrators in education, community development and other forms of community activity, both urban and rural.

In addition to these official reports a number of non-governmental inquiries, reports of conference proceedings, etc., deal with one aspect or another of adult education for disadvantaged groups. The Australian Association of Adult Education (AAAE) has considered various aspects of educational disadvantage in recent years. Apart from the literacy conference in October 1976 mentioned above, which has led to a national conference convened by an Australian Council for Literacy (assisted by AAAE) in May 1977, may be mentioned the 1970 annual conference on the theme "adult education and community advancement", which considered the meanings of educational disadvantage as well as provision for various special groups - Aborigines, prisoners, migrants, the rural depressed. A special AAAE conference in 1972 examined the needs and communication problems of migrants. More recent conferences have tended to be multi-stranded, several sub-conferences examining the needs of particular disadvantaged groups. Thus the 1975 annual conference included study groups on literacy, the needs of women, and adult education for the geographically isolated.

A national seminar convened by the Australian National Commission for Unesco in 1974 examined the Unesco Report Learning to Be (The Faure Report). Although neither "adult education" nor "disadvantaged groups" was specifically highlighted in the seminar or the proceedings, this intensive examination of the Australian education system in the context of the themes of Learning to Be probably helped to sensitise many in positions of influence in Australian education to both of these issues and to the relationship between them. The theme of the prestigious Australian College of Education's annual conference in 1975 "towards the learning society", while also not directly on adult education and/or disadvantaged groups, may have had a somewhat similar effect.

Although there have been no inquiries specifically on the learning needs of disadvantaged adult groups, there have thus been a number of official and unofficial studies and reports, some by educational agencies, others by government departments, commissions, etc. having other principal concerns, which have relevance in one way or another. The most directly relevant inquiry may prove to be one being undertaken during 1977 by the Unesco Education Committee with the Australian Association of Adult Education. This is a national "audit" of adult education in the light of the Adult Education Recommendation from the 1976 General Conference of Unesco. It takes the form of working parties examining existing adult education provision and the needs of different special or disadvantaged groups, including migrants, Aborigines, women and the handicapped; the findings of these different working parties are to be brought together in a national review seminar in 1978.

DEFINITIONS AND LEGISLATION

How to define adult education has been a source of confusion and controversy in Australia since (at least) the late sixties. Until then the term tended to be used quite restrictively to refer to the liberal, non-vocational, non-credit education of adults. This understanding was reflected in the narrow criteria for membership employed by the national Association (AAAE). The widening of understanding manifested itself in a succession of debates and redefinitions, and in the successive widening of membership, such that it now embraces organisations and individuals working in fields as diverse as commercial and non profit-making correspondence education, the Country Women's Association, industrial and public service training, community development work, trade union education and external study for degrees, as well as such traditional providers as workers' educational associations, university departments of adult education and extension, and statutory adult education authorities. One contributory factor has been the exposure to overseas thought and influence, such that, by 1977, most of those with knowledge of or interest in the field would find no difficulty in agreeing to the definitions favoured by OECD in Comprehensive Policies for Adult Education (Paris, May 1976), or Unesco in the 1976 Recommendation. The boundaries of adult education, however, remain ill-defined, as to where the function shades into what is better defined as recreation, therapy or social action. The TAFE Commission, which has some responsibility for the development of policy and support for adult education, finds itself in difficulty as to where to draw the line for such purposes. In common parlance and understanding the more narrow and specific tradition and meaning of adult education naturally still has powerful sway. The layman's understanding would still tend to be the kind of classes traditionally offered by the WEA.

As to who are the disadvantaged groups, there would be agreement about the main categories but confusion as one moves beyond these. There are also underlying differences of social and political philosophy, alluded to in the opening section of this paper, which mean that some would challenge the very concept. Haines has explored the meaning of the term in the adult education context (see for example AAAE, 1970, Australian Government Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, 1976, 2). Fitzgerald, in the education report of the Poverty Inquiry, cites several pages of definitions and understandings of disadvantage as an appendix. The gradual acceptance of the concept of a plural (or multicultural) society does not automatically mean that different ethnic groups are defined as disadvantaged, although they are usually included in correspondents' lists of groups. Thus Donovan identifies the following disadvantaged groups in the A.C.T. - the mentally retarded,

disabled citizens, the blind, the deaf, migrants, the unskilled, the unemployed, the illiterate, the aged, Aborigines - but observes later that "clearly all migrants are not disadvantaged. Those who would be classed as such would be that section of the community who, through inadequate schooling, are unable to cope with an intensive English course, who because they work shifts, are automatically excluded from attending part-time classes ... and the migrant women, who are unable to attend part-time classes because of lack of child-care provision". In this case, disadvantage is defined quite specifically in terms of access to educational provision, rather than socio-economic or cultural circumstances of the group as a whole, such that the adult education provision is required.

The reply of one state Director-General of Education to a request for information for this report implied a very specific definition of disadvantage, mainly mentally and physically handicapped including the deaf and the blind, and those with special learning disabilities, also the unemployed. Another Director-General's reply identified those recognisably disadvantaged by publicly promulgated medical and social criteria, and others such as the poor and the unskilled, who suffer severe limitations. He mentions those requiring basic education, the handicapped, Aborigines, the elderly, migrants, unemployed youth and prisoners. The groups identified for this inquiry in a third state are: women; Aborigines; ethnic groups; isolated persons; physically and intellectually handicapped; poverty (as a disadvantage); unemployed; pensioners; prisoners (and ex-prisoners).

There is a loose consensus, then, as to which kinds of groups would be defined as disadvantaged in terms of access to adult learning opportunities, as also in terms of their status in society more generally, but not an agreement that would withstand either philosophical scrutiny or precision of definition for the firm inclusion or exclusion of different categories. The main shift over the past few years has been towards wider recognition of the existence of such disadvantage, and more awareness of its many forms and groups. If all the major "groups" identified are included, we are referring to a large majority of the adult population. Even if the minimally educated whose memories of school are unfavourable are excluded, the inclusion of women, "migrants", the very poor and the unemployed clearly encompasses a majority of the adult population, quite apart from other clearly identifiable groups mentioned above, such as pensioners, prisoners, Aborigines and the physically and mentally handicapped. While there has been a shift in public and official consciousness, the very diversity now acknowledged makes it improbable that there will be anything approaching either general legislation or uniform provision to meet the learning needs of these different groups. Additional patches to a quilt are more likely than anything

resembling an integrated uniform system, bearing in mind the general political and social characteristics of Australia mentioned in the Introduction.

Similarly, there is in Australia no legislation specifically relevant to the subject of this inquiry. Such is the conclusion, in brief, of the Education Commissioner of the Poverty Inquiry. It was not possible to undertake a complete analysis of legislative provision in each state which might be relevant in some indirect sense to adult education for disadvantaged groups. No doubt legislation favouring the handicapped would have implications for adult education provision in some instances. Respondents from different states, while able to cite many examples of special provision for one or another group, could generally identify no specifically relevant legislation: for example "legislation favouring disadvantaged adult groups in educational terms is sadly lacking".

South Australia, of all the Australian states, is the one generally recognised as most progressive in terms of social welfare and similar legislation. A state case study, prepared by the S.A. Council for Educational Planning and Research, on Provisions made for Disadvantaged Groups in Adult Education, is appended in full to this report. It describes general legislation against discrimination in the state which has some relevance to adult education: the Racial Discrimination Acts, 1966 and 1976 and the Sex Discrimination Act, 1975, as well as the Acts governing the two universities in the state, the Colleges of Advanced Education and the Department of Further Education. The study also notes Commonwealth legislation providing for funding to assist special groups, the Immigration (Education) Act 1971-73 and the Handicapped Persons Assistance Act, 1974-76. The Sex Discrimination Act has provisions specifically relating to education which could afford powerful protection for women undertaking vocational and other further education, although no part of the Act has yet been tested in a court of law. Whereas most of the tertiary institutions in South Australia are under legislation which prohibits discrimination both against and in favour of "any person upon grounds of sex, race or religious or political belief", thus making difficult special provision favouring a disadvantaged group, two tertiary institutions, Roseworthy Agricultural College and Kingston College of Advanced Education, have clauses favouring "positive discrimination". The Roseworthy legislation, for example, allows that "the College may, with the approval of the Minister, make special provision for any students, or class of students, where it is, in the opinion of the College, necessary to do so to enable those students, or students of that class, to overcome any cultural or educational disadvantage to which they may be subject". Although this legislation does not refer explicitly to adult education, the trend in such colleges towards mature students and open access gives it some relevance to the theme of this report.

Looking ahead, the South Australian paper concludes its discussion of legislative provision with the opinion that little new legislation or further amendment is likely at the state level, although some legislative proposals of relevance might flow from the State Enquiry into Post-Secondary Education now under way. "As far as Commonwealth legislation is concerned it appears unlikely that any new acts will appear in the near future with regard to provisions to disadvantaged groups as most funding for such projects is allotted by ministerial directive."

PROVISION

Adult education in Australia is not a comprehensive service conceived as an integrated part of the education system at Commonwealth or state level. In terms of the alternative futures set out in the OECD paper "Comprehensive Policies for Adult Education", Australia is roughly in stage b) and moving towards stage c) - strengthening and co-ordinating the existing range of activities while simultaneously pursuing a positive policy of support for specific activities judged to be national priorities. Although the Commonwealth Department of Education has no section responsible for adult education as such, the Department administers funds for the school and adult education of certain disadvantaged groups, notably Aborigines and "migrants". The Department of Aboriginal Affairs also makes funds available to approved providing bodies for Aboriginal adult education. However, the provision of education in general is a states responsibility.

At the federal level, the forthcoming creation of a Tertiary Education Commission, to subsume the three present post-school commissions, may make co-ordinated planning for and provision of adult education for disadvantaged groups a little easier, especially with respect to such matters as open access, ease of transfer, re-entry, and decentralised provision, matters important to different disadvantaged groups in the population. The TAFE Commission (post-school, non-higher education) has tended to assume responsibility for adult education other than that provided by universities and colleges of advanced education. Adult education provision by these tertiary institutions is supported out of general federal grants to these institutions (funding of tertiary education having become a Commonwealth rather than a state function) supplemented by smaller amounts of money for special projects from other sources, and by fees charged to students.

For the present, there is great diversity of provision from state to state, and institution to institution. There is a certain amount of governmental provision for various disadvantaged adult groups in every state and territory, according to the administrative machinery

and procedures prevailing in each place. The disadvantaged groups attracting special provision, and the scale and modes of such provision, vary also with the accidents of local circumstance, including whether energetic persons have succeeded in having some of the resources of providing agencies channelled to one or another special cause. Availability of special purpose funds, for instance from the Department of Aboriginal Affairs or Education for Aboriginal or migrant adult education, also provides an incentive for making some resources of the educational institution available to disadvantaged groups.

The situation is far from static, because of the general re-examination of education referred to in section one of this paper. Earlier this decade South Australia established a separate Department of Further Education, taking this function out of the Education Department. New South Wales has a similar distinct Department (of Technical and Further Education), and has recently established also a Board of Adult Education. Both come under the Ministry but not the Department of Education, as does the NSW Adult Migrant Education Service. The statutory Boards of Adult Education in Queensland and Tasmania have both in recent months been absorbed into the respective Departments of Education, associating with other technical and further education activities. Recent reports of inquiries at this level in West Australia and the Northern Territory await implementation, and inquiries are under way in Victoria and South Australia. Finally, the Australian Capital Territory, which recently acquired a statutory Schools Authority, has seen its Interim TAFE Authority disbanded and the administration of this area, which included adult education, resumed by the federal Department.

Both the official administration and the actual provision of adult education, generally as for disadvantaged groups, therefore varies, and is changing quite rapidly, in most parts of the country. In the attached South Australian case study an account is given of provision by the state's two universities, eight colleges of advanced education, the Department of Further Education, the Workers' Education Association, the Adult Education Department of the University of Adelaide (mentioned as a provider separately from the reference to its parent body), and the Hospitals Department which provides training for the mentally retarded. The case study notes the special arrangements made by tertiary institutions for different categories of handicapped persons, such as paraplegics and the blind. It notes also mature age entry arrangements, and child-care arrangements for women with young children. Two special forms of provision for Aborigines are noted, the South Australian Institute of Technology's Aboriginal Task Force programme, and the Aboriginal Community College associated with Torrens College of Advanced Education. Both attract special-purpose Commonwealth funding, and draw students from outside as well as within the state. Among the large and diverse programmes of the

Department of Further Education are noted special forms of provision for each of the following "disadvantaged groups": women; Aborigines; (other) ethnic groups; isolated persons; physically and intellectually handicapped; those for whom poverty constitutes a disadvantage; the unemployed; pensioners; prisoners and ex-prisoners. Since the Department enrols over 100,000 students in a year, which is 12 per cent of the state's adult population, it is clear that many thousands who could be classified as disadvantaged are being reached by one or another form of provision.

Other provision for the geographically remote (as well as the Department's College of External Studies) includes the WEA's correspondence courses. The University Department of Adult Education uses its community radio station to reach some groups, particularly women, who may be unable to take advantage of classroom provision. Tutors also visit country areas to assist discussion groups and individual students.

A complete inventory of provision of adult education for disadvantaged groups in South Australia might go well beyond this list, to include possibly some other welfare-type government Departments, and certainly some of the non-governmental organisations and associations which might claim to be providing adult education for one or another disadvantaged group. The size of this catalogue would depend very much on how widely adult education (as distinct from, e.g. therapy or recreation) was defined, a subject about which there is not consensus in Australia.

While the South Australian case study confined itself mainly to formal government-supported educational provision, some other replies emphasised equally non-governmental provision. The Director-General of Education in Western Australia, for example, nominated a dozen agencies which it might be useful to approach for information, only half of which are governmental. His counterpart in Tasmania, by contrast, referred only to the various forms of provision made or assisted by the Education Department itself, and the NSW Director-General struck an intermediate position in referring the investigator to some provision of branches of his own Department, and some by other governmental agencies. The Principal Education Officer in the Research Division of the ACT Schools Authority concluded by listing eleven useful contacts distributed equally between governmental agencies (education and other) and voluntary bodies. This diversity of response, and of perception of the field by persons in comparable positions of authority, illustrates the prevailing confusion as to what constitutes adult education, and how widely, for such purposes, definitions of provision should be cast.

Leaving aside the uncertainty as to where the parameters should be drawn, a somewhat similar map could be drawn for each state and

territory. Social, economic and geographical circumstances influence the kinds of special provision, as well as more accidental factors alluded to above. The Northern Territory has a substantial programme of further and adult education provision for Aborigines, as, to different degrees, do the states of Queensland, Western Australia and New South Wales. Several universities have from time to time made provision for Aboriginal adult education (notably Sydney and the University of New England through their adult education departments, as well as other university adult education departments more spasmodically). Increasing numbers of colleges of advanced education and other post-secondary institutions provide special entry and bridging courses for Aboriginal students.

A number of tertiary institutions, both universities and colleges of advanced education, make special arrangements for external study in an attempt to meet the needs of the geographically remote, and of other isolated and less mobile persons. The most recently created university, Deakin in Victoria, has not yet formulated specific policies for the disadvantaged. Its particular style and role will however tend to orient it towards special groups, since it places high value on off-campus modes of study. It might come to inherit the mantle of the now abandoned open-type university intended for Albury-Wodonga on the northern border of the state. Deakin is considering making "disadvantage" one of the criteria for selection of non-matriculated mature age students by giving preference in admission to off-campus study to anyone prevented from gaining access to ordinary on-campus tertiary education.

Perhaps the most comprehensive Australian attempt at adult education provision as a system is that of the Victorian Council of Education, a statutory body charged with acting as a catalyst and resource to other agencies as well as being a providing body itself. The CAE has assisted the emergence of centres for continuing education in various country towns in the state; these bring learning opportunities to some relatively disadvantaged categories. The CAE also makes direct provision for several groups of disadvantaged adults. One part of its programme is intended to bring learning opportunities to women who feel trapped at home. Another is directed towards Aborigines, including Aborigines in prison. The Council has done pioneering work in adult literacy in Australia (Council of Adult Education, Victoria, 1974).

It is not possible to list and appraise all the programmes specifically arranged for disadvantaged groups, especially because of the diversity between states, and between public and private agencies. For example, the Department of Further Education in South Australia, the largest but by no means the only providing body in that state, includes among its forms of specific provision the following:

- Pilot schemes for women conducted through community group and leisure settings and geared to the particular circumstances of each setting; (the success of these programmes outside educational institutions has far exceeded expectations).
- An adult literacy project started last year which provided for over 100 persons in about 10 different classes but for which new demand, at about 5 persons each day, outstrips resources as yet available through normal college budgets; (it was estimated from a recent survey that in Adelaide alone 17,000 adults could be regarded as requiring basic skills education).
- Some 20 physically handicapped persons have enrolled in mainstream metropolitan courses in Adelaide in the past five years and it is hoped dramatically to increase this with the emphasis on physical access in all new buildings.
- Since 1974 several colleges of further education have provided classes for mentally handicapped persons, both in "survival subjects" in the area of domestic economy and in "enrichment activities" for those unable to live outside institutional care.
- A diversity of approaches is adopted to special provision for Aborigines, including a mobile teaching unit for tribally oriented communities in remote parts of the state, and short period full-time workshops in such places.
- Courses in English for migrants include full-time ten week crash courses, as well as courses provided in industry by the Department with differing times and formats to match different circumstances.

While it is not possible to provide an objective measure of the success and utility of the many different special programmes such as those mentioned here, in Victoria and South Australia, it would be true that there is innovation and some measure of success in many areas and for many groups, but mostly on a somewhat piecemeal small scale.

Given the lack of official data on special provision for disadvantaged groups, the lack of consensus as to whom this term embraces, and the federal nature of education provision in Australia, it is impossible to state with any confidence what percentage of the population which might be called disadvantaged has access to adult education, or what proportion of what total public expenditure on adult education finds its way to such groups. Even the statistics for enrolment in formal adult and further education courses are ambiguous, to the extent that it has been argued that current official figures for enrolment in TAFE

might over-represent by as much as fifty per cent, and the Director of Adult Education for Victoria is insistent that the official statistics for enrolments of both the Council of Adult Education and the relevant streams of the Education Department's technical and further education provision - approximately 70,000 in all - be not regarded as a reliable indicator of participation even in formal adult education. As to participation by the disadvantaged, a survey based on area participation and disadvantage in 1975 suggested that some 15 per cent of the Council's sample of 16,000 came from areas of socio-economic and education disadvantage, representing perhaps 10 per cent of the Council's clientele as socio-educationally disadvantaged persons. As a very rough approximation, some 6 per cent of the Council's public money is spent specifically on disadvantaged groups, including an item from the Department of Aboriginal Affairs for Aboriginal adult education. It is to be hoped that the national "audit" of adult education provision and need being attempted by the Australian Association of Adult Education in 1977-78 will provide somewhat firmer data.

A Trade Union Training Authority was created during the recent Labor Administration. Its main educational institution, Clyde Cameron College in Albury-Wodonga, is nearing completion. Trade union training, at present the subject of a government-appointed committee of inquiry, is a form of allocation of public funds for special purpose education to an area which could certainly be described as disadvantaged, if one were comparing the human resources and professional preparation available to unions with those available to management in industrial relations negotiations. On the other hand, union personnel have not been identified in discussions of educational disadvantage as a relevant group, and are not considered further here.

This is not a comprehensive catalogue of providing agencies. Many governmental agencies, government-assisted and other voluntary bodies make some kind of provision for different disadvantaged groups, for instance the physically or mentally handicapped, that could be broadly described as adult education. Mention is made only of three other federal forms of provision which might be thought relevant to the subject. The Department of Employment and Industrial Relations (formerly Department of Labor and Immigration) administers various forms of study assistance brought together under the National Education and Training (NEAT) Scheme. NEAT is intended to assist persons seeking new careers, and especially those in careers affected by skill obsolescence or over-supply of manpower in a changed labour market, to train for new forms of employment. As such, it is particularly intended for the economically disadvantaged. NEAT is continuing on a reduced scale in the present circumstances of constrained federal government expenditure. It has been criticised for tending to benefit the less disadvantaged who have knowledge of and access to its provisions. Although their use of NEAT is entirely legitimate, this

means that the Scheme has been in a sense and to some degree subverted, bearing in mind its principal objective.

The Australian Public Service, as the largest employer in the country, tends to provide some lead in terms of conditions of employment, including opportunities for study, both for formal qualifications and by means of short in-service courses. In the main it has reflected a pattern familiar to adult educators: most of the learning opportunities it provides are enjoyed by the more highly educated and successful members of the Service. Its effective provision for the disadvantaged is probably quite slight.

The short-lived Social Welfare Commission, established in 1973 and disbanded three years later, was responsible for an ambitious community development and participation programme known as the Australian Assistance Plan (AAP). Designed to foster local "grassroots" involvement in community affairs, the AAP has been called Australia's boldest exercise in adult education. Although the Plan has been terminated, it seems to have generated on-going structures and learning activities in some regions. It would require a close study to discover whether and to what extent, in different regions, the Plan engaged and benefited disadvantaged and low status groups. One impression is that this form of provision, by means of locally controlled "seed money", in the event found its way largely to those already in positions of relatively high status and influence.

This sketch of areas of provision indicates the main target groups for special provision in Australia. The geographically remote have always been in the Australian consciousness, partly from Australia's identification with the "outback" as part of its distinctive heritage and character. There have been many special features, experiments and innovations with teaching at a distance at many levels of post-school education (as well as at the school level itself). Several tertiary institutions have developed imaginative and quite successful external studies programmes involving different combinations of methods and techniques, as also have state and non-governmental adult education agencies for different interest groups. These include study kits in New South Wales, and leaderless discussion groups and telephone tutorials in Victoria. One imaginative example is the Open Learning Unit of the Western Australian Institute of Technology. While Australia has developed methods of teaching at a distance mainly for geographically remote communities and isolated individuals, some of this provision has undoubtedly benefited other isolated or non-mobile persons from other categories of disadvantage, such as some of the physically handicapped.

The physically and mentally handicapped groups have slightly more legislative acknowledgement of their needs, but perhaps less practical provision to meet them at a governmental level than do the larger and more distinctively "Australian" groups. Most provision

specifically for such groups is the province of voluntary associations, some of which enjoy official patronage and government assistance.

Aborigines, the most conspicuous, researched, publicised and still severely disadvantaged group, attract various forms of special provision, some of which is mentioned above. The current Handbook of the NSW Department of Technical and Further Education, for instance, lists seven kinds of special full-time courses provided specifically for Aborigines at various locations, in different kinds of pre-vocational and pre-trade education. It also sets out conditions for the Aboriginal Study Grants Scheme, whereby a basic living allowance can be obtained, supplemented by allowances for clothing, textbooks, equipment and some travel. Other providing bodies in New South Wales, as elsewhere, also make special provision. This is not to deny that little progress has been made in discovering forms of provision that are effective in relating to Aboriginal experience and circumstances; success rates are generally low.

The needs of adults who lack basic education, especially the illiterate, have recently attracted public concern, officially expressed through a parliamentary select committee but more widely demonstrated by much largely voluntary concern and effort. Loosely associated with this is what might by common consent by seen as the target group of largest size, the various ethnic groups for which English is not their native language, who are usually referred to as migrants or New Australians. Provision for such groups is likely to undergo further significant change in the future, as the emphasis shifts from basic instruction in English (partly through highly successful intensive full-time courses) and integration into one Australian society, towards education of both "old" and "New" Australians for a plural society. It is too early to know how significant this shift of emphasis will prove to be, especially as the Community Relations Commission, with its educational orientation, is soon to be subsumed in a Human Rights Commission which may emphasise rather the legal aspects of human rights and community relations. One recent successful development in many parts of Australia has been community access radio placed in part at the service of different ethnic groups. Its success, and its significance in terms of social values and social directions, is evidenced by attacks on ethnic community radio by some traditionally oriented groups (such as servicemen's leagues) which object to the fostering of (non-English-speaking) cultural diversity.

In summary, there is some little legislative provision for the groups most easily identified on medical grounds, the physically and mentally handicapped; adult education services are provided in many instances by voluntary bodies concerned with quite specific small populations, assisted by welfare and medical services. Other socially

disadvantaged groups such as prisoners, Aborigines and some other ethnic groups attract various forms of special provision, mainly through educational authorities. The wider sense of disadvantaged groups, namely those who find themselves excluded from normal educational provision because they fear the environment of formal education and have unhappy memories of school, or a low self-image which precludes the idea of further education, is beginning to attract interest as part of a general questioning of the efficacy and outcomes of schooling. A good recent example is the education report of the Poverty Inquiry, which employs this perspective to raise doubts about the formal system. The recent and persisting rise in unemployment has tended to sharpen this perspective and to strengthen the hand of those seeking a wider approach to compensatory and alternative forms of educational provision for disadvantaged adults.

APPRAISAL AND IMPLICATIONS

A number of trends in recent years indicate that access to learning opportunities for disadvantaged adult groups has attracted more attention. To some extent this interest has been manifested in increased provision. Adult, continuing and recurrent education have acquired more salience in public discussion about educational policy, and in the terms of reference of special educational and some other related inquiries, as well as in the regular reports of government departments and education commissions. The creation of a national TAFE Commission provided for the first time at the federal level a machinery and responsibility for considering and perhaps supporting the development of a system of adult education as part of an integrated system of educational provision. At the same time there has been wider recognition of the failure of the education system to counter socio-economic inequality, and of its tendency rather to amplify such differences; and a more sophisticated awareness of the interaction between cultural and ethnic difference, socio-economic disadvantage, and the culture and effects of the normal school.

While there is better understanding of the difficulties confronting any attempt to reduce socio-economic disadvantage by educational means, and some increase of interest (other than among practitioners of adult education) that adult education might provide more promising channels and strategies than does the school system, there is little evidence of success in putting this understanding into effect and resolving in practice the core problems of motivation and participation in adult education on the part of certain disadvantaged groups such as the very poor and Aborigines. The short-lived attempt at nation-wide local-level participation known as the Australian Assistance Plan attracted criticism which was both "technical" - as

to its means and efficacy - as well as political. It was not in being long enough to allow sound judgement of its merits and weaknesses, and it is too early to see whether it will have abiding effects in those areas where it was being implemented. Accordingly, it is not possible to say whether it was entirely unsuccessful, or whether Australia will have learned from the experiment in such a way that lessons can be applied elsewhere. It is of interest as a centrally initiated attempt at local community initiative and participation, and an exercise in central direct-grant funding meant to stimulate self-help. As such it manifested the tension in Australian society between belief in and support for the common man, on the one hand, and hostility both to central government and to government aid to those who (it is asserted) should make the effort and do more for themselves, on the other. The return in 1975 to a more laissez-faire administration reflected a quite widely expressed feeling of this kind, identified most clearly as a white "backlash" in areas of relatively high concentrations of Aboriginal population.

Aboriginal adult education in the Northern Territory provides a good test-case and demonstration of issues explored in this paper. Both in the adult education work of the Department of Education and more recently at the Darwin Community College (Australia's first such institution) there is displayed a mixture of attitudes and approaches to provision. Assumptions about Aboriginal inferiority, laziness or hopelessness, expressed in paternalistic behaviour and approaches to provision, co-exist with radical participative approaches to Aboriginal adult education and community development. These latter support the decentralisation movement of some Aboriginal groups away from settlements to their traditional homelands. Consciousness-raising, and decentralised provision on the community's terms of what it sees as its needs, rub shoulders with centralised provider-oriented approaches which, at least by implication, state that Aborigines must learn to be like members of the dominant society and receive their entitlements to education and other social services on its terms. Clearer understanding of strategies likely to be successful with disadvantaged groups has yet to produce significant and large-scale examples of successful provision.

Any marked change in this situation is likely to result less from greater concern for the needs of the disadvantaged than from economic difficulties, particularly persisting high unemployment, coupled with disillusionment with the present formal education system and its poor articulation with the needs of employers and the economy. This is illustrated by the emphasis in the OECD country review on the school-work transition, and by the context and main thrust of the present Inquiry into Education and Training. Although there is increased support for the TAFE sector, manifested in the creation of a TAFE Commission and the slightly less severe constraint on expansion of

this compared with higher tertiary education, the main reason for this is concern over the poor match between the output of the formal education system and the needs of the labour market. The introduction of the NEAT Scheme may be explained similarly. The shift towards a system of recurrent education, of which these are illustrations, should however have the effect of modifying educational provision to improve access for disadvantaged groups, almost as a by-product. Some specific disadvantaged groups, notably Aborigines, are however likely to attract improved adult education services for other, political and social rather than economic, reasons.

The forthcoming single Tertiary Education Commission which will subsume the three existing post-school commissions could possibly assist adult education in the sense of making it easier to plan for its provision as a single system. This may depend on how far the new Commission operates as a matrix rather than a hierarchy, and whether adult education is seen as a concern of the whole Commission rather than left as the responsibility of the TAFE element alone. A standing committee on adult and recurrent education would probably be necessary if there is to be deliberate development of adult education as a system of provision. Even if this occurred, it is unlikely that Australia would move very far or fast towards phase 4 as set out in the OECD set of options in "Comprehensive Policies for Adult Education". It is more realistic to expect gradual evolution towards phase 3.

If this is accurate it raises questions about the character of adult education in the future. There may be good grounds for concern that economically motivated development of adult education will be restricted to specific skill training for individuals in relation to the requirements of the labour market, rather than being more widely available for the development of the capacities of both persons and communities. Provision thus conceived would do little for disadvantaged groups as groups, although it might lift some individuals in such categories, probably women and members of ethnic groups, into better economic circumstances.

If increased funding for adult education tends to be employment-based, and opportunities for further study linked to work, as through schemes of paid educational leave, this may have the effect of widening the gap between employees in need of further assistance towards learning opportunities and the most seriously disadvantaged who are outside or peripheral to the work-force, such as seasonal Aboriginal workers, prisoners, the elderly and the unemployed.

Nonetheless, it is likely that adult education will continue to move more towards the centre of the stage of educational planning and provision and that, given the quite widely expressed and sustained concern about social disadvantage in its various forms, some benefits will accrue to at least some of the disadvantaged groups mentioned in

this report. It would be reasonable to expect more experimentation and innovation, and more official interest in and support for successful approaches to bringing adult education to disadvantaged groups. It is unlikely that this will take the form of integrated planning and provision for all categories of disadvantage. Australian traditions of government suggest rather the continuation of a piecemeal, patchwork, approach.

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Annex

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN COUNCIL FOR EDUCATIONAL PLANNING AND RESEARCH

Special Provisions for Disadvantaged Groups in Adult Education

1. INTRODUCTION

2. LEGISLATIVE PROVISIONS

   1. Discrimination Acts
   2. University Acts
   3. CAE Acts
   4. DFE Act
   5. WEA
   6. General

3. PROPOSED LEGISLATIVE PROVISIONS

4. ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS

   1. Universities

      i) Adelaide
      ii) Flinders

   2. CAE

      i) SAIT
      ii) Adelaide
      iii) Torrens
      iv) Murray Park
      v) Sturt
      vi) Salisbury
      vii) Roseworthy
      viii) Kingston

   3. DFE
   4. WEA
   5. DAE
   6. Hospitals Department

5. SUMMARY

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Adult Education in South Australia falls into two major categories:

1. Tertiary Education
   a) Universities
   b) Colleges of Advanced Education

2. Further Education
   a) Department of Further Education
   b) Workers Educational Association
   c) Department of Adult Education
   d) Private institutions providing adult education

1.2. For the purpose of this study the groups which are considered to be at a disadvantage are:

Women
Aborigines
Ethnic Groups
Isolated Persons
Physically and Intellectually Handicapped
Poverty
Unemployed
Pensioners
Prisoners (and ex-prisoners)

2. LEGISLATIVE PROVISIONS

2.1. Discrimination Acts

i) Since 1966 the South Australian Government has been enacting legislation to prohibit discrimination by persons and organisations. The first of these acts, the "Prohibition of Discrimination Act 1966" and a subsequent amendment in 1970, applied mainly to the supply of services and the rights of employees with regard to a person's race, country of origin or the colour of their skin.

Another amendment to this act was made in 1976, the "Racial Discrimination Act 1976", which expanded on the rights of employees in relation to their employment.

"6.2) A person shall not discriminate against another on the ground of his race -
a) by denying him access or limiting his access to opportunities for promotion, transfer or training, or to any other benefits connected with employment"
PENALTY: $200.

As a result, a person of a certain race or ethnic group had resource through law, against an impediment to training and advancement. It is interesting to note that a clause was inserted to allow exceptions from the Act by regulation.

ii) In 1975, the "Sex Discrimination Act 1975" was asserted, the aims of which were to:

"render unlawful certain kinds of discriminations on the grounds of sex or marital status; to provide effective remedies against such discrimination and promote equality of opportunity between men and women generally;"

Under this Act the Commissioner for Equal Opportunity was appointed to administer the Act and a Sex Discrimination Board whose function it was to hear proceedings brought against any person or persons under the Act, and where necessary to impose fines on offenders.

As in the Racial Discrimination Act, a clause was inserted to protect the employee from any impediment to training and hence advancement.

"18.2) It is unlawful for an employer to discriminate against an employee on the ground of his sex or marital status -

a) by denying him access, or limiting his access, to opportunities for promotion, transfer or training, or to any other benefits connected with employment;"

This protection is carried a further stage, later in the Act where it states:

"23) It is unlawful for an authority or body empowered to confer an authorisation or qualification that is needed for, or facilitates, the practice of a profession, or the carrying on of a trade, to discriminate against a person on the ground of his sex or marital status -

a) by refusing, or failing to confer that authorisation or qualification;

b) in the terms on which it confers the authorisation or qualification;

OR

c) by withdrawing the authorisation or qualification, or varying the terms or conditions upon which it is held."

The above provisions are then aimed directly at educational authorities by section 25.

"25.1) It is unlawful for an educational authority to discriminate against a person on the ground of his sex or marital status -

a) by refusing, or failing to accept his application for admission as a student;
OR

b) in the terms on which it admits him as a student.

2) It is unlawful for an educational authority to discriminate against a student on the ground of his sex or marital status -

a) by denying him access, or limiting his access, to any benefit provided by the authority;
OR

b) by expelling him or subjecting him to any other detriment.

3) This section does not apply to discrimination on the ground of sex in respect of admission to any school, college or institution established wholly or mainly for students of the one sex".

With respect to women undertaking vocational training or further education this Act is very powerful in affording them protection from authorities which in the past did not consider equal opportunity an important issue.

It should be noted that sub-section 3) makes an exception to the general provisions of the section. There are other exceptions in the act which protect certain bodies, namely, charities which benefit one sex, religious bodies which ordain or appoint ministers, priests, etc. of a particular sex, sporting bodies and insurance companies. Other exceptions can be granted by regulation by the Sex Discrimination Board for a period of time not exceeding three years.

Up to this point in time none of the Sex Discrimination Act has been tested in a court of law and the Board has received only two applications for exemption, one of which was turned down, the other being granted for a period of only twelve months. All complaints brought to the notice of the Commissioner so far have been withdrawn.

The procedure laid down by the Act is that the Board may:

"38.3a) Make an order requiring him (the offender) to refrain from acting in contravention of this Act.

5) A person who contravenes, or fails to comply with, an order under this section shall be guilty of an offence and liable to a penalty not exceeding two thousand dollars."

iii) As all institutions offering adult education in South Australia, whether at a tertiary level or further education level, must comply with these Acts, there is considerable protection for many disadvantaged groups, with particular emphasis on women, aborigines and ethnic groups.

2.2. University Acts

i) The University of Adelaide

The University of Adelaide was established by Act of Parliament in 1874 (under Royal Charter) and legislation governing this institution has been enacted as either new Acts or as amendments to the Act. The earliest most significant amendment was in 1880 when the university was authorised to grant degrees to women - for the day, a bold move.

The Act in force at the moment is the "University of Adelaide Act 1971-72", which provides a section on prohibition of discrimination.

"5. The University shall not discriminate against or in favour of any person upon grounds of sex, race or religious or political belief".

It must be noted that the Act disallows any discrimination in favour of any person hence making it difficult for the university to make any special legislative provisions for any disadvantaged group.

ii) The Flinders University of South Australia

The Flinders University was established by "The Flinders University of South Australia Act, 1966" which was subsequently amended by "The Flinders University of South Australia Act Amendment Act 1973".

In neither of these Acts is there any reference to any discrimination act but there exists one section which states that there is to be no religious test applied to any student.

2.3. Colleges of Advanced Education Acts

i) South Australian Institute of Technology (SAIT)

The Act which established SAIT as a College of Advanced Education was the "South Australian Institute of Technology Act 1972". Provision was made for the discrimination acts by Section 21.

"21. The Council shall not discriminate against or in favour of any person on grounds of sex, race or religious or political belief".

ii) Adelaide, Sturt, Salisbury and Murray Park Colleges of Advanced Education

All these C'sAE were established under the one Act, the "Colleges of Advanced Education Act, 1972", which had provision for the discrimination acts in Section 8.

"8. A College shall not discriminate against or in favour of any person on grounds of sex, race or religious or political belief".

iii) Torrens College of Advanced Education

A new CAE was established in 1972 incorporating the old Western Teachers College and South Australian School of Art into the Torrens CAE by the "Torrens College of Advanced Education Act 1972". Once again, part of the discrimination act was included.

"7. The College shall not discriminate against or in favour of any person on grounds of sex, race or religious or political belief".

iv) Roseworthy Agricultural College

Roseworthy became a CAE in 1973, after a long period of time as a college administered by the Minister of Agriculture with the "Roseworthy Agricultural College Act 1973". This Act had included in it very powerful sections on discrimination both for and against certain groups.

"8.1) The College shall not discriminate against or in favour of any person on the grounds of sex, race, marital status or religious or political belief.

"2) Notwithstanding the provisions of sub-section 1) of this section, the College may, with the approval of the Minister, make special provision for any

students, or class of students, where it is, in the opinion of the College, necessary to do so to enable those students, or students of that class, to overcome any cultural or educational disadvantage to which they may be subject."
(to be quoted as the "disadvantage sub-section").

It is to be noted that sub-section 1) includes "marital status", something that is not included in any other CAE Act and also, it predates the Sex Discrimination Act by two years. This was perhaps due to the anticipated influx of women, especially married women to Roseworthy after the granting of independence which broke down the traditional all male enrolment.

Sub-section 2) is of particular interest and great significance to this study because of the implications held within it for any disadvantaged group of persons. For perhaps the first time an educational institution has recognised that a person or group of persons may need special requirements outside the formal framework of college regulations to allow them to gain the necessary educational standards for the improvement of their lives.

v) Kingston College of Advanced Education

Initially known as the Kindergarten Teachers College administered by the Kindergarten Union, Kingston was established as an independent CAE by the "Kingston College of Advanced Education Act 1974". The discrimination acts were incorporated in the Act again, with the "disadvantage sub-section", although unlike Roseworthy, marital status is not included in the first sub-section.

"7.1) The College shall not discriminate against or in favour of any person on grounds of sex, race or religious or political belief.

"2) Notwithstanding the provisions of sub-section 1) of the section, the College may, with the approval of the Minister, make special provision for any students, or class of students, where it is, in the opinion of the College, necessary to do so to enable those students, or students of that class, to overcome any cultural or educational disadvantage."

The full effects of such a piece of legislation cannot be fully realised until a discussion of the administrative

applications of the act can be done. This aspect will be covered in the section "Administrative Arrangement" (Section 4) later in the paper.

2.4. Department of Further Education

As a result of the "Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia 1969-70" (Karmel Report) a recommendation was made to the South Australian Government for the establishment of the Department of Further Education. The legislation that resulted was the "Further Education Act 1975" which was asserted early in 1976 even though the Department was well on the way to being established under the general powers given the Minister in the Education Act.

This Act made no provisions for the discrimination acts nor did it make any provisions for disadvantaged groups; this is not to say that the DFE does not make special provisions, a fact which will be borne out in the discussion of administrative arrangements made for several groups by the department.

2.5. Workers' Educational Association of South Australia (WEA)

The WEA, established in 1914, is an incorporated body and as such has no legislation directly governing its operations. It does, however, have to comply with the Companies Act but this does not allow any provisions for the groups involved in this study.

2.6. General

Under this section a brief look will be taken at other legislation which has applications to any groups covered by this study. There are only two pieces of legislation that have any relevance. They are the "Immigration (Education) Act 1971-73" and the "Handicapped Persons Assistance Act 1974-76".

Both these acts are Commonwealth legislation which provide funding for the purpose of assisting the two groups to which they apply.

3. PROPOSED LEGISLATIVE PROVISIONS

3.1. Discrimination Acts

As far as can be ascertained, little or no new legislation or amendments are proposed to these Acts although the Sex Discrimination Act has provision for modification and updating of the Act under Section 46.

"46.1) The Commissioner shall undertake a review of the legislation of this state with a view to identifying

provisions that improperly discriminate in substance or effect against persons on the ground of their sex or marital status.

"2) The Commissioner shall, on or before the thirtieth day of September in each year, prepare and present to the Minister:

a) a report on the administration of this Act during the period under sub-section 1) of this section and any recommendations that he considers appropriate for the elimination or modification of discriminatory legislative provisions.

"3) The Minister shall as soon as practicable after receiving a report under this section cause copies of the report to be laid before Houses of Parliament."

3.2. University Acts

At this point in time, neither of the universities have forecast any amendments to their respective acts, to allow them to make provisions for disadvantaged groups (e.g. amendments similar to the Roseworthy/Kingston "disadvantage sub-section") as it is felt that present administrative arrangements are adequate for these purposes.

3.3. Colleges of Advanced Education Acts

While it is recognised that two C'sAE (Roseworthy and Kingston) have quite adequate legislation covering disadvantaged groups, none of the remaining colleges have indicated any intention in the near future of following the lead set by Roseworthy and Kingston C'sAE. However, the Board of Advanced Education which controls the C'sAE did indicate that if any amendments were forthcoming that consideration might be given to including the "disadvantage sub-section".

3.4. Department of Further Education Acts

While no provision has been made in the DFE Act, it is possible that from the Committee of Enquiry into Post Secondary Education, some recommendations for amendments might be made.

3.5. General

As far as Commonwealth legislation is concerned, it appears unlikely that any new acts will appear in the near future with regard to provisions to disadvantaged groups as most funding for such projects is allotted by ministerial directive.

In South Australia, a Committee on the Rights of Persons with Handicaps has been set up under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice C.H. Bright to "consider matters of law and policy adversely affecting

persons with handicaps of a physical or mental nature". This committee may recommend legislative changes to benefit handicapped persons which may flow on to legislation governing adult education. The Committee of Enquiry into Post Secondary Education in South Australia established in 1976, under the chairmanship of Dr. D.S. Anderson, is not due to report until December 1977.

4. ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS

4.1. Universities

i) The University of Adelaide

In general, the University of Adelaide makes provision for only one specific disadvantaged group and they are the physically handicapped. If a person is confined to a wheelchair or finds access to different parts of the campus difficult, allowance is made for lectures and tutorials to be taken at a more easily accessible place. Special parking permits are issued if the student is able to drive to within close proximity of his or her lectures. Provision is also made for blind persons by providing tapes of lectures and Braille notes and examinations can be taken by either of these methods. As far as entrance qualifications are concerned, if the applicant has not matriculated, there is a special (mature-age) entry scheme whereby he or she submits an essay on a set topic selected from a wide range of options and then is given an interview. A Selection Committee decides on the basis of the application, the essay and the interview. This scheme is not directly aimed at any of the groups in this study but as far as the University is concerned, a non-matriculant is disadvantaged in that normal entrance requirements cannot be met. Adelaide University provides a quota outside of normal quota restrictions for this group of applicants.

For women with children the University provides child-care centres to allow more women the freedom to study.

ii) The Flinders University of South Australia

As with Adelaide University, Flinders makes provisions for persons confined to wheelchairs and blind persons in much the same way with lectures scheduled specifically for that person or persons in easily accessible areas. Lectures are taped and examinations are also taped for

blind persons. A mature age entry scheme exists, selections being based on an aptitude test, an essay and an interview with applicants who satisfy the mature entry requirements, these being placed in the general entrance selection pool. Due to the less competitive nature of entrance at Flinders compared with Adelaide, no quota is required as all who qualify under mature entry gain places.

Mention must be made of the courses available in Women's Studies and Feminism which examine the status and roles of women in society and study feminist theory in such areas as politics, history, literature, anthropology, biology and sociology.

For women with children a day-care centre is run in conjunction with the Sturt CAE.

4.2. Colleges of Advanced Education

i) South Australian Institute of Technology

SAIT make provision also for paraplegics and blind persons except in cases, as deemed by council, when their presence in a laboratory or workshop may constitute a hazard to themselves or others or where the disadvantage may inhibit the student from partaking in practical work (e.g. physiotherapy). Where none of these conditions apply every effort is made to accommodate the student.

A mature-age entry scheme exists with selection being made on the basis of an interview and an aptitude test. Successful applicants are then granted provisional status until their academic record can be assessed at the end of the year.

There is at SAIT a course specifically aimed at one disadvantaged group, Aborigines. The Aboriginal Task Force (under Lecturer David Hope) exists solely for the intake of Aborigines or for persons of Aboriginal descent who wish to gain recognised tertiary qualifications in community development and social work and are unable to qualify themselves for normal entry due to lack of secondary school requisites. Although only certificate courses are offered they make the holder eligible for study at a higher level. Selection is based on the initial application, some written tests and an interview with final selection being made by a panel of representatives from the Adelaide Aboriginal Community in conjunction with Institute staff. Funding for the students comes from the Aboriginal Study Grant Scheme.

ii) Adelaide College of Advanced Education

Adelaide CAE offers a mature-age entry scheme similar to schemes described in earlier sections with aptitude tests and interviews but in the short term is committed to accepting students with normal entrance qualifications and holders of teaching scholarships. However, persons with language problems, whether attempting to gain entry through normal or special channels, are given special consideration in entrance procedure on the condition that they undertake bridging courses of their own volition during the year.

Entrance for the physically handicapped is not discouraged except in courses relating to physical education etc. where a disability would prevent the student from partaking in practical sessions. As access is not the problem as at the previous three institutions very few provisions have to be made except for blind persons where normal provisions would be made.

iii) Torrens College of Advanced Education

Mature-age entry is once again basically along the same lines as with other institutions, with aptitude tests and interviews, with the S.A. School of Art, which is now incorporated in Torrens CAE, having interviews and the submission of an art portfolio with an ability test. The Art School mature-age applicants are not however granted entrance through any special quota.

Physically handicapped persons are catered for in the normal way and access is a very minor aspect due to the college being a modern design on flat land, lifts and ramps making movement in wheelchairs easier. However, there are some courses where it is considered that the welfare of the student and those around him/her could be endangered if their disability could limit their ability to partake in certain practical courses and counselling is offered to these students by staff.

Also associated in Torrens CAE is the Aboriginal Community College, which is in fact administered by an independent management committee, and is funded by a direct Commonwealth Grant, independent of other CAE funding.

ABORIGINAL COMMUNITY COLLEGE HANDBOOK 1976

"The general aim of the college is to provide opportunities for the adult Aboriginal people, for whom other

relevant educational facilities are not available, to continue their education in areas meaningful to them. In doing this, the College provides opportunities to pursue individual educational programmes that will enable the students to become more satisfyingly involved in their communities through more satisfying employment or other activities".

Funding for the college is at present by grants from the Australian Department of Aboriginal Affairs with student fees, paid for by the Australian Department of Education or Australian Department of Employment and Industrial Relations, supplementing the costs.

Courses are aimed at formal secondary qualifications, vocational training and general interest and participation.

iv) Murray Park College of Advanced Education

Murray Park CAE offers mature-age entry but due to stringent quotas preference is given to applicants who have completed at least two matriculation subjects which can be studied further at the college. Very few special provisions for handicapped persons are required due to the nature of the layout of the college.

The student union runs a day-care centre thus allowing women with children to attend lectures on a full-time basis.

v) Sturt College of Advanced Education

Mature age applicants at Sturt CAE are processed in a similar way to most other C'sAE, by means of a language test, an aptitude test and a selection board.

Provision is made for physically handicapped persons in the normal way with re-sited lectures where necessary and taped lectures and exams for blind persons.

As mentioned in 4.1 ii) a child-care centre run jointly with Flinders allows women with children to enrol in full-time study.

vi) Salisbury College of Advanced Education

Salisbury has been experimenting since 1970 with a two-tier mature age entry scheme. One is where the applicant has passed two or three matriculation subjects, the other the more normal process of interview, essay and aptitude

test. Considerable success has been achieved with students from this form of entry. Special provisions for certain groups extended past the normal allowances for handicapped persons to any disadvantaged group. Aware of the disadvantage sub-section that exists in other CAE acts, Salisbury administrators carry out that provision through administrative decisions even though not required to by the CAE Act. An example of this latitude was a group of Aborigines who were allowed an extra semester to complete their course due to hardships encountered in the undertaking of that programme. The same provisions are allowed to any Colombo Plan student who may need the assistance of such a provision. Where necessary bridging courses were provided by the college to help these groups.

vii) Roseworthy Agricultural College

As was noted in section 2.3. iv) Roseworthy has in its Act the "disadvantage sub-section". This has led directly and indirectly along with other sections of the Act for Roseworthy to update from being an all male residential college to a co-educational institution which caters for a wide variety of groups.

Mature age entry exists for most courses. Candidates must satisfy the college that they have a reasonable prospect of success, have experience in the industry relevant to the course applied for and have school performance or post-school performance assessed by means of interviews. Here again, considerable success has been achieved with applicants from this group.

Also in section 2.3. iv) it was noted that marital status was stated as being grounds for non-discrimination and since the first intake of female students in 1974, considerable change has taken place with regard to residency at the college, a previously compulsory regulation, which now allows for any student married or unmarried to live away from the college, with accommodation still available at the college.

With regard to physically handicapped persons, some courses, due to the nature of the practical work involved, are not encouraged and are counselled to find some suitable alternative course.

viii) Kingston College of Advanced Education

Mature-age entry at Kingston CAE is encouraged by the allotment of a considerable quota in the intial intake, as experience has shown these students to be more motivated and as academically successful as school leavers. The normal entry requirements for such students are a language test, aptitude test and an interview.

The administrative application of the "disadvantage subsection" allows for students who the Council consider to be worthy cases extra time to complete courses.

4.3. Department of Further Education

This large educational body has existed in its present form since 1972 when the Division of Technical Education, and other government adult education and training facilities were brought together and made into a separate department answerable only to the Minister of Education. This was necessary, due to the size of the adult education section within the Education Department and need for a central administrative body for further education. Today, the DFE has enrolled in excess of 100,000 students (12 per cent of South Australian adults) in thirty colleges of further education and community colleges and covers about 1,800 courses and subjects.

Due to the number and diversity of courses offered, it is here in the DFE that most disadvantaged groups are catered for, whether by courses aimed specifically at them or by active encouragement by the Department for their participation. A discussion of the provisions made for each group follows:

i) Women

Within the Department there exists a research section whose job it is to plan courses to meet present and future needs. The group planning for women is active in organising courses for women wishing to re-enter the workforce or to be more active in community development. These courses are specifically aimed at housewives suffering from "suburbia syndrome" where motivation to progress beyond the status quo is not normally forthcoming. Home study groups are organised and where necessary fees can be waived. These re-orientation courses go a long way towards making women, left behind by education and training because of marriage and family, feel useful members of society.

Another area of interest of Women's Affairs is technical training, a traditionally male area, where on-the-job

training such as apprenticeship training is also under study by groups such as the Department of Labour and Industry. Little progress has been made in breaking down the barriers against women in industry due to inflexibility on the part of employers and unions, who hold a majority on the Apprenticeship Commission, the controlling body for apprentices in the state.

ii) Aborigines

Once again there is a very active research group working in the DFE, on behalf of Aborigines. Field officers travel to all parts of the state to research options for courses that are needed by the different Aboriginal groups. If a group of interested persons wishes to have a course started that would be of particular interest or benefit to that group the field officer arranges the funding and administrative provisions. In cases where there are not the required numbers to start a course, regulations can be waived and if necessary no fees are required. Where the Aborigines are still in a tribal or semi-tribal situation, workshops travel to the areas needed rather than having the students or prospective students travel to a central college.

When a student or group of students undertake formal education, for example secondary schooling or nursing, counselling and tutelage are provided on request.

iii) Ethnic Groups

The Migrant Education section of the DFE is a large and well-funded organisation through grants from both state and Commonwealth sources. English language courses are provided at most of the colleges of further education and where necessary home tutoring can be arranged with the numbers for these courses not necessarily a limiting factor on the formation of a class. A resource centre provides books and teaching aids to those groups which need them and special tutoring is readily available.

iv) Isolated Persons

Persons who do not have access to further education facilities are catered for by the South Australian College of External Studies. Tuition is by correspondence except for the two certificate courses in Advertising and Public Relations. Courses fall into three categories,

Business Studies, General Studies and Rural and Technical Studies, all of which have wide application to persons in a rural situation. Information about courses is circulated through rural centres such as schools, libraries and hospitals by rural organisations such as Rural Youth, Country Women's Association, United Farmers and Graziers and through Stock and Station Agents.

v) Physically and Intellectually Handicapped

Because of the willingness of the DFE to allow home study, and to waive rules governing student group numbers, the handicapped have quite a degree of flexibility in where and how they wish to study. Most new colleges have provisions for access by wheelchairs although it must be noted that there is no firm policy on this matter. Tutoring groups have been set up as required at different times in several hospitals around Adelaide. These are not confined to specialist institutions such as Glenside Hospital and Northfield Wards, but at general hospitals such as the Royal Adelaide and the Queen Elizabeth Hospitals. Upon discharge from any of these institutions, follow-up tutoring is also available, including home tutor groups.

vi) Poverty

As has been seen, fees for the undertaking of some of the courses with the DFE can be waived for persons who are in need of assistance. It must be remembered that fees only apply to recreational and leisure courses and that vocational training is free.

It is common in lower socio-economic areas for school leavers to be of a much lower age than in other areas. Education is not considered essential till later in life when the real need for vocational training becomes apparent. By that stage, self-confidence with regard to learning capabilities is at an all time low and the potential student is hesitant to undertake further education. This lack of confidence has been overcome somewhat by the establishment of community colleges, but a lot more encouragement for persons (who are below the poverty limits of the Henderson enquiry) to increase their employment and advancement potential is needed. Bodies which actively inform employers as to the opportunities available for their employees such as the

Industrial Training Council go a long way towards achieving this encouragement.

vii) Unemployed

This group of persons is quite often neglected with regard to training and education unless the stimulus comes from the persons themselves. The Department of Labour and Industry recently announced a plan to train a group of unemployed school leavers in a pre-apprenticeship scheme. While this does not guarantee employment, the fact of the first two years of training (undertaken in 20 weeks of full-time study) certainly enhances the job prospects of the 140 persons involved.

Commonwealth Employment Service offices would be an ideal situation for counselling and advice on vocational training but in general advice of this nature is not always available.

viii) Pensioners

The section dealing specifically with aged pensioners as invalid pensioners is section 4.3. v) which deals with the handicapped. The tendency for aged pensioners to partake of recreational courses and leisure courses as vocational training is for the most part impractical. Some concessions are made for pensioners in the area of fees associated with these courses.

Occasional courses, mostly for therapeutic purposes, are conducted by voluntary organisations (S.A. Council of Social Services) and through the Department of Community Welfare.

ix) Prisoners and Ex-Prisoners

While the DFE is not directly responsible for this group, use is made of the resources provided especially with regard to paroled persons. The Department of Correctional Services uses resources seconded to them from the Education Department as well as the DFE for persons in its institutions. On discharge, every effort is made by parole officers to encourage their "clients" to either continue courses they started in the institution or to start training for their new life. Success is limited in this endeavour but this is due in the main to the persons involved and the situation in which they find themselves on release.

4.4. Workers' Educational Association

Because the WEA is a non-profit organisation which exists in the main by the collection of fees from its students, it is rather hard for it to make provision for certain groups. It does, however, grant concessions (half-price) to pensioners and students to approximately 75 per cent of its courses.

Because of the general non-academic nature of the majority of WEA courses, advancement for a disadvantaged group through formal qualifications is limited. However, language courses are offered both at WEA colleges and through correspondence courses. Also there are several courses aimed at women, to expand general horizons, opportunities for development and involvement at a variety of levels and at re-enrolment of women in education and employment.

Many courses are held in conjunction with the Department of Adult Education of the University of Adelaide, a discussion of which follows in the next section.

4.5. Department of Adult Education

As this authority is a department of the Unive.sity of Adelaide, the legislative provisions have already been covered in previous chapters. The department provides courses generally aimed at persons who have a background in tertiary education, although many courses especially those held in conjunction with the WEA do not fall into this category.

The department offers a wide range of language courses, but not English, these courses being conducted by the WEA. Through its community radio 5UV the department can reach a wider audience than would normally be possible but the only disadvantaged group directly catered for is women. Most courses offered are either extension courses or academically oriented leisure courses.

A resource centre exists for home discussion groups and tutors often undertake visits to country areas to communicate with students on related matters.

4.6. Hospitals Department

The Director of Mental Health Services administers a number of complexes of training for the Intellectually Retarded. Two of these that provide, inter alia, adult education are:

a) Strathmont Centre
b) Industrial Therapy Workshop

5. SUMMARY

Overall, many provisions, some legislative but mostly administrative, are made for disadvantaged groups in Adult Education. There exist some areas where no provisions are made but progressive administration will eventually over-rule these negative factors.

COMMENT ELARGIR L'ACCES DES GROUPES DEFAVORISES A L'EDUCATION

LE CAS DE L'AUSTRALIE

RESUME

En Australie, le fait que la diversité des ethnies et des langues soit de plus en plus souvent acceptée et entérinée a renforcé la tendance à définir les groupes non-anglophones en tant que principal "groupe défavorisé", du double point de vue de l'éducation des adultes et de plusieurs autres domaines de l'action gouvernementale. D'autres "groupes défavorisés" sont pleinement reconnus, notamment la population aborigène - c'est-à-dire les aborigènes vivant en tribus et les aborigènes métissés des zones rurales et métropolitaines - ainsi que la population de l'intérieur du pays, défavorisée sur le plan géographique, qui comporte des communautés aborigènes ou autres. Abstraction faite de ces différences, des observateurs venant d'autres sociétés industrialisées de la zone OCDE ne seraient pas déroutés par la position sociale et politique que prend l'Australie dans la définition des défavorisés.

La loi prévoit quelques rares dispositions relatives aux groupes les plus faciles à définir pour des raisons médicales - les handicapés physiques et mentaux. L'éducation des adultes est très souvent dispensée par des organismes bénévoles qui s'occupent de petits groupes très particuliers, avec le concours des services sociaux et médicaux. D'autres groupes défavorisés sur le plan social, tels que les détenus, les aborigènes et quelques autres groupes ethniques, bénéficient de programmes spéciaux variés, offerts surtout par des organismes chargés de l'éducation - institutions privées, Départements des états et autorités officielles de l'enseignement. Les groupes défavorisés, entendus dans le sens le plus large - à savoir ceux qui se trouvent exclus des programmes éducatifs normaux parce qu'ils craignent le milieu officiel de l'enseignement, qu'ils gardent un mauvais souvenir de l'école, ou bien doutent d'eux-mêmes et de leur aptitude à poursuivre des études - commencent à attirer l'attention des responsables dans le cadre de la mise en question générale de l'efficacité et des résultats de la scolarité. Le rapport sur l'éducation présenté par l'équipe de la Poverty Enquiry (enquête sur la pauvreté), qui évoque ce problème pour mettre en doute le système officiel, en est un

exemple de fraîche date. L'augmentation récente et persistante du chômage rend l'avenir plus menaçant et a renforcé la thèse de ceux qui cherchent à élargir l'accès des adultes défavorisés aux programmes d'enseignement de soutien ou à de nouvelles formes d'études.

Depuis quelques années, on constate que l'accès à l'enseignement des groupes d'adultes défavorisés attire de plus en plus l'attention. Dans une certaine mesure, cet intérêt s'est déjà traduit par une augmentation de l'offre de programmes. Les cours pour adultes, la formation continue et l'éducation récurrente prennent plus de place dans les débats publics sur la politique de l'éducation, dans les mandats des enquêtes spéciales sur l'éducation et de quelques autres enquêtes et dans les rapports régulièrement diffusés par les services ministériels et les commissions sur l'éducation. La création d'une Commission des enseignements technique et complémentaire (TAFEC) a institué, pour la première fois à l'échelon fédéral, un mécanisme et des instances responsables en vue d'examiner et peut-être de favoriser le développement d'un système d'éducation des adultes dans le cadre d'un système scolaire intégré. En même temps, on a plus largement reconnu que les efforts déployés dans le système scolaire pour compenser les inégalités socio-économiques avaient échoué et que ces différences s'étaient plutôt creusées, et l'on a pris plus clairement conscience de l'interaction entre les différences culturelles et ethniques, les désavantages socio-économiques et les résultats de l'enseignement dispensé à l'école.

Si les difficultés auxquelles se heurte toute tentative visant à réduire les désavantages socio-économiques grâce à l'éducation sont mieux comprises et si certains, autres que les spécialistes de l'éducation des adultes, commencent à penser que cette forme d'enseignement pourrait offrir des voies et des stratégies plus prometteuses que ne le fait le système scolaire, il n'y a guère de preuves que l'on ait réussi à traduire ces notions dans les faits et à résoudre dans la pratique ce problème central - la motivation de certains groupes défavorisés, tels que les pauvres et les aborigènes, et leur participation à l'éducation des adultes. La brève tentative de participation nationale à l'échelon local, connue sous le nom de Plan d'assistance australien, a suscité des critiques, aussi bien d'ordre technique - en ce qui concerne ses moyens et son efficacité - que d'ordre politique. Ce plan a toutefois été de trop courte durée pour que l'on puisse porter un jugement bien fondé sur ses mérites et ses faiblesses, et il est trop tôt pour savoir s'il a eu des conséquences durables dans les régions où il a été appliqué. En conséquence, il est impossible de dire s'il a complètement échoué ou si l'Australie en aura tiré des enseignements qui pourront être mis en oeuvre ailleurs. Ce plan présente de l'intérêt parce qu'il constitue une tentative du gouvernement central pour favoriser l'initiative et la participation des communautés locales, et aussi un exercice

de financement central au moyen de subventions directes destiné à stimuler les efforts personnels. En tant que tel, il a témoigné de la tension qui existe dans la société australienne entre, d'une part la confiance dans l'homme du commun et son soutien et, d'autre part, l'hostilité aussi bien à l'égard du gouvernement central que de l'aide publique accordée à ceux qui (affirment certains) devraient faire un effort personnel plus poussé. Le retour en 1975 vers une administration plus tolérante reflète un sentiment de cet ordre assez largement répandu et très clairement défini comme une "réaction" des blancs dans les régions où les concentrations de populations aborigènes sont relativement élevées.

L'éducation des aborigènes adultes dans le Territoire du Nord constitue un cas-type et une démonstration intéressante des questions qui sont examinées ici. Aussi bien dans les activités d'éducation des adultes du ministère de l'Education que, plus récemment, dans celle du Darwin Community College (le premier collège communautaire en Australie), on constate des attitudes et des démarches diversifiées à l'égard des programmes. Certains, qui considèrent les aborigènes comme des êtres inférieurs, paresseux, des cas désespérés, s'expriment par un comportement et des démarches paternalistes vis-à-vis des programmes, alors que d'autres sont pour la participation sans réserve à l'éducation des aborigènes et au développement des communautés aborigènes. Les tenants de cette dernière thèse soutiennent le mouvement de décentralisation de certains groupes aborigènes qui abandonnent leurs "colonies" pour revenir vers leurs foyers traditionnels. Des dispositions décentralisées propres à donner conscience des besoins que la communauté ressent voisinent avec des actions centralisées selon lesquelles, du moins implicitement, les aborigènes doivent apprendre à se comporter comme des membres de la société dominante et bénéficier, à ces conditions, de leurs droits à l'éducation et à d'autres services sociaux. Une meilleure compréhension des stratégies susceptibles de remporter des succès auprès des groupes défavorisés ne s'est toujours pas traduite par des exemples importants, à grande échelle, de projets réussis.

Toute modification marquée de cette situation sera probablement moins le résultat d'une préoccupation accrue pour les besoins des groupes défavorisés que de difficultés économiques - et en particulier de la persistance d'un taux élevé de chômage - auxquelles s'ajoutent les déceptions créées par le système d'enseignement actuel et sa médiocre articulation avec les besoins des employeurs et de l'économie. L'accent mis dans l'Examen des politiques nationales d'éducation: Australie (OCDE, Paris, 1977) sur la transition de l'école à la vie active, ainsi que le contexte et la principale orientation de la présente enquête sur l'éducation et la formation, en sont des exemples. Si le secteur des enseignements technique et complémentaire (TAFE) bénéficie d'un appui accru qui s'est manifesté par la création d'une

commission TAFE et l'allègement des contraintes sur l'expansion de ce système par rapport à l'enseignement supérieur, la principale raison en est l'inquiétude que soulève la médiocre adaptation du système éducatif aux exigences du marché du travail. L'entrée en vigueur du Programme national pour l'emploi et la formation (NEAT) peut s'expliquer par les mêmes raisons. L'évolution vers un système d'éducation récurrente devrait toutefois avoir pour effet de modifier les programmes d'études de manière à en ouvrir, de façon presque automatique, plus largement l'accès aux groupes défavorisés. Des services améliorés d'éducation pour adultes pourraient toutefois être créés à l'intention de quelques groupes défavorisés particuliers, notamment des aborigènes, mais pour des raisons politiques et sociales, plutôt qu'économiques.

On pourrait craindre à juste titre que, loin d'ouvrir plus largement l'accès à l'éducation des adultes aux personnes et aux communautés en vue de développer leurs capacités, le renforcement de ce type d'enseignement pour des motifs économiques ne s'attache qu'à donner aux individus des compétences particulières liées aux exigences du marché du travail. Ainsi conçus, les programmes ne seraient guère utiles aux groupes défavorisés en tant que groupes, même s'ils pouvaient améliorer la situation économique de certaines personnes de ces catégories, notamment des femmes et des membres de groupes ethniques.

Si le financement accru de l'éducation des adultes a tendance à être fondé sur l'emploi, et si les possibilités de faire des études complémentaires sont liées au travail, par exemple sous la forme de congés-éducation payés, le résultat pourrait être de creuser l'écart entre les employés qui ont besoin d'une aide supplémentaire pour avoir accès à un enseignement, et les plus gravement défavorisés qui n'appartiennent pas à la population active ou y jouent un rôle marginal, tels que les travailleurs aborigènes saisonniers, les détenus, les personnes âgées et les chômeurs.

Néanmoins, il est probable que, sur sa lancée, l'éducation des adultes deviendra l'élément central de la planification et des activités éducatives et que, étant donné le souci constant et largement exprimé de compenser les désavantages sociaux sous leurs diverses formes, quelques-uns au moins des groupes défavorisés évoqués dans la présente étude en tireront certains profits. On pourrait raisonnablement s'attendre que les expériences et les innovations seront plus nombreuses et que les projets qui ont réussi à ouvrir à des groupes défavorisés l'accès à l'éducation des adultes recueilleront davantage d'intérêt et de soutien auprès des pouvoirs publics. Cependant, il n'est guère probable que tout ceci prenne la forme de plans et de dispositions intégrés pour toutes les catégories de défavorisés. Les traditions australiennes de gouvernement donnent plutôt à penser que l'approche restera fragmentaire et disparate.

III

WIDENING ACCESS TO THE DISADVANTAGED
A GERMAN CASE STUDY

by Hannelore Sutter and Erhard Schulte

INTRODUCTION

The term "under-represented groups" is given preference over the term "disadvantaged groups" in this study because

- under-representation of specific population groups in the education system in this case adult education, can be established on a statistical basis, whereas "being disadvantaged" cannot be defined unless with the aid of controversial economic and general social criteria and against the background of social norms and standards which are open to differing value judgements;
- as experience has shown, the term "disadvantaged groups" has frequently led to misunderstandings, in view of the fact that equal opportunities do formally exist in most sectors of developed democratic societies;
- for educational policy activities aiming at an overall societal balancing of educational opportunities, participation deficits can be identified and be considered the most important starting point.

It must, however, be stated that statistics, scientific investigations and experience supported by scientific evidence show that, in adult education just as in other areas of education, groups with a low social status or groups exposed to particular individual forms of stress and strain are heavily under-represented and that under-representation and being socio-economically disadvantaged are therefore largely identical. The existence of an interdependence between low social status and poor participation in the educational opportunities offered may be considered to be an established fact. The problem of under-representation in adult education largely affects those groups in society which are weak and which must be considered disadvantaged under general social categories as well.

RESEARCH RESULTS AND STATISTICAL SURVEYS

The results of more recent empirical investigations and statistical surveys carried out in order to ascertain the attitude adopted by adults towards further education and their response to such opportunities show that despite a generally positive attitude to further education, actual participation in such education programmes is only small. In this connection, willingness to participate in adult education and also - to a much greater degree - the population's actual seizing of the opportunities provided by adult education courses, probably depend on the basic school and vocational education already received, on occupational status, on age, sex, family situation and leisure-time interests. Participants attending courses at adult education facilities are for the most part those who already possess school-leaving certificates and vocational qualifications and not those who have completed the shortest possible general and vocational education and for whom adult education constitutes the sole opportunity of making good education deficits and of adapting knowledge and skills already acquired to meet the requirements of the present development.

A survey carried out in 1973 in Land Baden-Württemberg to ascertain the response to adult education yielded the following participation percentages: 17 per cent of the resident population in Baden-Württemberg participated in adult education programmes during 1973. Whereas the participation of holders of the Abitur school leaving certificate amounted to 57 per cent, school leavers holding the intermediate certificate were represented with 36 per cent, while young people who had attended secondary level primary schools participated only to the extent of 10 per cent. Additional differentiation was achieved according to the sex of those covered by the survey. Whereas the share of male ex-secondary level primary school pupils still amounted to 15 per cent, participation on the part of girl pupils from such schools sank to the dwindling minority of 6 per cent. Considerable differences were also noted as a result of breakdown according to occupational status. During 1973, only 8 per cent of workers participated in adult education programmes. Employees participated to the degree of 34 per cent, while the response from civil servants and judges amounted to as high as 61 per cent.

The Report presented by the Federal Government on the Promotion of Labour of 23rd March 1973 and the surveys on which this report was based likewise demonstrate that the degree of willingness to participate in vocational adult education is to a considerable extent influenced by the educational qualifications of the individual employed person. Thus, of the gainfully employed with secondary-level primary school qualifications, only 14 per cent had participated in educational programmes, whereas the corresponding proportion of the gainfully-

employed with intermediate school certificates amounted to 34 per cent and holders of the Abitur certificate were represented by as much as 40 per cent. Unskilled and semi-skilled workers, workers employed in the agricultural sector and women are considered to constitute problem groups. Of those persons who took advantage of promotional measures in order to embark on a course of vocational further education, retraining or vocational adjustment, 76.1 per cent (in 1970) and 78.3 per cent (in 1971) were men. The percentage accounted for by women in 1970 amounted to 23.9 per cent and in 1971 to 20.7 per cent. A comparison with the percentages of both sexes in the overall figure of those gainfully employed (1970: men = 63.6 per cent, women = 36.4 per cent) shows clearly the extent to which women are under-represented. During subsequent years the proportion of women taking part in vocational education promotion schemes rose steadily to approximately 28 per cent in 1977, women constituting 37 per cent of all gainfully employed persons. However, a breakdown by occupational status shows that it is women workers who bear the brunt of the continuing under-representation of women in the promotional measures of the Federal Labour Agency (Bundesanstalt für Arbeit). In 1977 the number of women workers participating in such schemes amounted to approximately 7 per cent, although they accounted for 12.5 per cent of all gainfully employed persons. Female employees and civil servants, on the other hand, constitute 20 per cent of those participating in the schemes and only 18 per cent of all gainfully employed. Furthermore, a far smaller percentage (45 per cent) of women workers undergo long-term vocational further education than female employees and civil servants (75 per cent).

A microcensus was held in 1976 to determine attendance of vocational further education schemes between 1970 and 1976. It confirmed the differences already known to exist with regard to occupational status and sex. During the period covered by the microcensus the percentages of persons attending vocational further education schemes were as follows: 6 per cent of female workers, 9 per cent of male workers, 12 per cent of female employees, 17 per cent of female civil servants, and 19 per cent of male employees and civil servants respectively.

The first reports received concerning the taking of educational leave, which has recently been established by law in the Federal Länder of Berlin, Bremen, Hamburg, Hesse and Lower Saxony, reveal somewhat higher participation figures for the under-represented groups of workers and women.

In Bremen during 1975, 4,368 employed persons took educational leave (approximately 1.4 per cent of those entitled to do so); of these, 68 per cent were men and 32 per cent women in the following occupations: 26 per cent workers, 48 per cent employees, 6 per cent

trainees and 20 per cent civil servants, housewives and pensioners. The share accounted for by workers taking advantage of educational leave is therefore approximately three times that of the number quoted for the facilities studied in Baden-Württemberg in 1973 - a Federal Land in which no legal provision has as yet been made for educational leave. The share accounted for by women in Bremen is approximately two and a half times that quoted for women in Baden-Württemberg. During subsequent years the number of persons taking educational leave in Bremen rose to 6,775 in 1976 and 8,257 in 1977, that is 2.1 and 2.6 per cent respectively of those entitled to do so. The proportion of men and women remained virtually unchanged, whilst the number of workers increased slightly.

In Land Lower Saxony the number of those taking educational leave increased from 6,955 in 1975 to 29,500 in 1978 (1.4 per cent of those eligible). Four-fifths were men, one-fifth women. Workers accounted for over 50 per cent.

No precise figures are available for Hamburg concerning the taking of educational leave. Estimates state that approximately 6,000 participated in statutory educational leave programmes in 1977, that is just under 1 per cent of those eligible. In Berlin - where, just as in Hesse, employees are entitled to take educational leave up to the age of 25 - 4,277 employees participated in 1975 in programmes in this sector, whereas in Hesse the number of employees amounted to 6,407. By 1978, these figures had risen to 5,723 in Berlin (0.6 per cent of those eligible) and to 11,242 in Hesse (2.6 per cent of those eligible). These figures show that educational leave certainly represents a means of providing further education for under-represented groups, but still only 2 per cent of gainfully employed persons take advantage of this opportunity.

A study carried out in Baden-Württemberg by the Working Group for Empirical Educational Research covering approximately 3,500 participants in adult education programmes and seminars confirms the heavy over-representation of specific groups: 62 per cent of those participating were employees, 22 per cent civil servants and only barely 10 per cent were workers. If these percentages are compared with the corresponding figures of the gainfully employed population, the discrepancies become painfully obvious: the percentages representing the individual occupational groups in the employed population amounted in Baden-Württemberg to approximately 30 per cent for employees, 5 per cent for civil servants and barely 5 per cent for workers - in other words, 1 in 2 gainfully employed persons, but only 1 in 10 participants in adult education programmes, is a worker.

The results of a study carried out at Oldenburg University at

the request of the Federal Ministry for Education and Science on "Social Factors in Adult Learning Attitudes" point in the same direction. This study, which was carried out in 1973 on a total of 4,150 persons, admittedly reveals a generally positive attitude to adult education - even on the part of those holding no secondary level primary school qualification and on the part of unskilled workers. However, only 34 per cent of those included in the survey had participated in adult education programmes.

In this study, too, school-leaving qualifications and occupational status emerge as clearly differentiating factors influencing participation in adult education facilities.

Whereas only 12 per cent of those questioned under the survey who had no primary school qualifications participated in adult education programmes, the percentage of those holding such qualifications was as high as over 28 per cent. Participants with an intermediate school level certificate were represented with 54 per cent and Abitur holders with 58 per cent; 17 per cent of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers questioned had already participated once in an adult education programme. Attendance in the case of skilled workers amounted to 38 per cent and for employees and civil servants, the percentages were 52 per cent and 58 per cent respectively.

New figures are now available from a representative survey on the attitudes to adult education of people between 18 and 65, which was prepared in 1979 for the Federal Ministry of Education and Science. Compared with the 1973 survey, it was discovered that the attendance of adult education schemes depended less on the individual's educational qualifications, i.e. the differences between those holding secondary-level primary school qualifications and those with higher qualifications were less pronounced. However, it is still true that people with higher educational qualifications are more likely to attend adult education programmes. Thus, 72 per cent of the interviewees holding Abitur or equivalent qualifications stated that they had participated in one or more adult education schemes, whilst only 52 per cent of those with secondary-level primary school qualifications had done likewise.

A study carried out at Göttingen University in spring 1974, also at the request of the Federal Ministry for Education and Science, on the subject of "Adult Learning Behaviour and Attitudes of Industrial Workers Towards Adult Education" shows the connection between occupational status - particularly between the actual workplace situation - and the chances of participation in further education very clearly. Whereas of those who have completed their training and are now employed as skilled workers already approximately 59 per cent have

participated at some time in adult education courses, less than 40 per cent of industrial workers doing unskilled or semi-skilled work have taken advantage of such opportunities.

Above and beyond this, the study shows that the participation or non-participation in adult education for a group with a relatively homogeneous initial training leads to polarisation and an accumulation of education in such a way that those workers develop a greater interest in adult education who have already participated in such programmes.

In addition to school and training qualifications, to position on the occupational ladder and to the actual workplace situation as differentiating factors, the family situation and leisure-time behaviour or amount of leisure time can be identified in these studies as factors influencing motivation to participate in adult education and actual participation. Unmarried employed persons are more interested in adult education than married persons or even married persons with children, where the lower the occupational status of the breadwinner, the greater the interest in the family is in comparison with the interest in adult education. Only if the husband has enjoyed better school education and possesses higher qualifications is a positive influence to be detected. Particularly in those groups with poor education who are employed in inferior occupations, adult learning is not regarded as normal with the result that adult education activities are accepted only as emergency measures and are rather seen as a serious disruption of family ties. The time required for meeting family commitments, just as the effects of heavy workloads - shift work, long commuting distances - greatly restricts the individual's amount of leisure-time, the interests which can be developed in that time and thus also the possibility of demonstrating an active interest in adult education.

The studies under discussion also provide evidence of the influence of both age and sex on willingness to participate in adult education and to actually attend adult education courses. These factors do not, however, constitute fully independent variables.

It is true that the statistical material submitted gives proof of the over-representation of younger participants in adult education courses. But young participants are likely to be unmarried and therefore not bound by the obligations which result from the family situation. The same applies with regard to the variable of sex. Unmarried women are represented in adult education programmes to approximately the same extent as unmarried men. The total participation figures for women are, however, generally lower than those for men. According to the Baden-Württemberg microcensus, 23 per cent of men, but only 12 per cent of women, attended an adult education course during 1973. In the case of the majority of the women, therefore, factors play a

role from which problems arise irrespective of sex also for men, such as burdensome commitments with regard to the family, a low education level, an occupation requiring few qualifications, thus resulting in greater under-representation.

Major differences in adult education response are finally to be found in varying residential areas. The more densely built-up the residential area is, the greater will be the number of adult education participants. This results both from the more varied education offered in densely built-up areas and from the generally lower level of education in rural areas.

The aggregation of empirical data concerning individual characteristics facilitates the narrowing down of large social groups (workers, women), who can be generally regarded as being under-represented, to target groups with specific adult education deficits. The statistical data available suggest that a particularly large adult education deficit is concentrated in the following groups of the population. Workers who have not completed their initial education, workers in rural areas, working women with children, elderly people in rural areas, older workers in occupations requiring low qualifications, persons carrying on a small business or trade, shift workers. The greater the number of characteristics generally applying to groups with an adult education deficit (low occupational status, low educational qualifications, resident in a rural area, large family, exposure to specific work stress) which combine to form a complex of deficits, the more adult education measures can be systematically introduced. With regard to strategies intended to eliminate group-specific inequalities in terms of access to educational opportunities, it seems important, in view of the limited resources available, to be able to determine very clearly defined target groups in which statistically established adult education deficits are mostly concentrated.

In this context of under-representation and equality of opportunities special consideration should also be given to those groups of the population which, on account of their exposure to specific individual stress, constitute target groups for intensified adult education efforts (handicapped persons, foreigners, prisoners). The selection of these groups is largely influenced by the point of view that they face evident obstacles in the way of their participation in adult education.

EVALUATION OF THE PROBLEM BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, POLITICAL PARTIES AND SOCIAL GROUPS

Both the Federal Government and the political parties agree that the provision of adult education programmes is a public task to be accomplished by the state, provided that each individual shall have

the opportunity of actually participating in adult education courses. The promotion and expansion of adult education are integral parts of the education reform intended to create a social, democratic and efficient overall education system. In his statement of government policy delivered on 16th December 1976, Federal Chancellor Schmidt emphasised the increasing importance of adult education and the necessity of reducing both shortcomings in initial education and training and risks in working life by such adult education facilities.

As long as equality of educational opportunity and inter-class and inter-school transfers in the initial phase of education fail to attain the desired dimensions, the Federal Government considers it a task of adult education for the foreseeable future to correct the relatively rigid distribution of opportunities produced by the initial training system, thus providing new possibilities and additional opportunities. Even if an improved adult education system by itself is not in a position to remove social disadvantages - just as the education reform alone cannot iron out the social inequalities in our society - an adult education system offering equality of opportunity can contribute considerably to achieving a societal balance between the classes in society and between generations, and also equalise the today extremely unevenly distributed possibilities of active participation in political, economic and cultural life.

FORMS OF PROVISION

In the General Plan for Education drawn up by the Bund-Länder-Commission for Educational Planning in July 1973, the demand is made that adult education as the fourth sector of the education system - following on the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors - be given greater support from government funds. The Federal Government, the Länder and the municipalities are assigned the task of providing within the limits of their competence an adequate range of educational measures corresponding to modern requirements.

A step towards including adult education in government education planning was the passing of adult education laws in eight of the Federal Länder. The intention is to supply ways and means of providing the population with adult education facilities tailored to existing needs and covering wide areas. Such laws were passed in the following Länder: Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria, Bremen, Hessen, Lower Saxony, North-Rhine Westphalia, Rhineland-Palatinate and the Saarland. On the occasion of the passing of these laws as well as on many other occasions, the Länder governments have repeatedly stated that they fully advocate the statements of policy concerning adult education as laid down in the General Plan for Education.

A comprehensive survey of the problems posed in the elaboration of adult education legislation is given in the First and Second Reports of the Planning Commission for Adult Education and Further Education of the Ministry of Education of Land North-Rhine Westphalia. All the relevant issues are discussed in these reports, from motivation to public responsibility, from local development planning to fundamental policy with regard to adult education facilities, thus disclosing the deliberations on which the legislation in North-Rhine Westphalia has been based.

The decision taken by the German Congress of Municipalities on 29th April 1976 concerning adult education centres demands that learning processes be introduced oriented to the conditions of industrial development, to changes in society and to occupational life which serve not only vocation-oriented and purpose-oriented goals but also the needs of the citizen in our society with regard to freedom. A demand is made that adult education centres shall provide aids to learning, aids to orientation and the formation of judgements as well as aids to independent work and, at the same time, comply with the desire for information, communication and compensation.

The adult education centre sets itself the task of providing courses not only for those who are already interested, but of helping by way of systematic initiatives to eliminate existing education barriers and to attract especially those groups in the population who have not yet recognised the opportunities and possibilities provided by adult education.

In the "Concepts regarding Education Policy" approved on 7th March 1972 by the General Council of the German Trade Unions Federation, it is stated that adult education must constitute part of a uniform education system structured in accordance with the ides of éducation permanente. This ides is to make an additional contribution to the achievement of equality of educational opportunity, call into question privileges enjoyed as a result of formerly acquired educational qualifications, reduce hierarchical structures and advance the process of democratisation. Adult education also faces the challenge of equipping employees participating in courses at all its institutions and in all its programmes with the means of self-determination, i.e. with the ability to exercise objective criticism as regards their environment and to make full use of their fundamental rights in all sectors of life. In October 1979 the General Council of the German Trade Unions Federation adopted a new draft basic programme. It states that éducation permanente must be made the realisable right of employees, and calls for the organisation, substance and methods of adult education to be geared to the interests of employees, and for prime consideration to be given to the needs of shift workers, commuters, women with families to look after, and foreign workers.

The churches, too, demand a system of continuous, systematic adult education providing equality of opportunity, and regard the education of the under-represented groups and the making good of learning deficits, such as result for members of various groups in society, as an important complex of tasks for education supported by church authorities. They demand that the system of adult education offer a special opportunity to those disadvantaged and underprivileged in any way. Joint deliberations on the part of all concerned must be held to this end, and studies and experiments for curricula contents and methods to encourage students by unconventional means must be thought out.

In the "Structural Plan for Adult Education" submitted in May 1975 by a working group of independent scientists, in which an analysis is made of the present situation with regard to adult education in the Federal Republic and in which planning data and criteria are developed for expanding the public adult education system, the major objectives presented by the experts include the elimination of regional discrepancies in the range of adult education opportunities offered and the reduction of social inequality of opportunity. In order to achieve all this, adult education is to be seen as an obligatory task for municipal authorities and an adequate supply of adult education programmes serving the areas in question must be guaranteed for the population.

While the adult education acts passed in the Länder relate to the general promotion of adult education, possibilities for the further education of particular groups of persons have been created by the legal provisions listed in the following paragraphs.

The Arbeitsförderungsgesetzt (AFG) = Law on the Promotion of Labour, of 25th June 1969 (BGBl I, p. 582), provides for individual and institutional promotion programmes for the vocational adult education sector. Within the framework of institutional promotion, the institutions implementing vocational education measures may receive loans and grants for the development, expansion and equipping of appropriate facilities. In accordance with the individual promotion programme, participants in adult education receive grants amounting to up to 58 per cent of their wages or salaries if they attend courses with the aim of keeping their vocational knowledge and skills up to date, of expanding them or of adapting them to technical development or of advancing to a position requiring superior qualifications. The prerequisites are that participants must have completed either vocational training or an appropriate period of practical experience in their vocation. The grant is increased to 80 per cent of the wage or salary if the educational measure is intended to help unemployed persons or to provide persons without vocational training to equip themselves with vocational qualifications. Furthermore, participation in

vocational retraining programmes is promoted which enable participants to transfer to another suitable occupation, and which are particularly intended to ensure occupational mobility or to improve it.

The Berufsbildungsgesetz (BBiG) = Vocational Education Act of 14th August 1969 (BGBl I, p. 1112), covers in-career training and vocational retraining in Sections 46 and 47. The competent agencies (chambers) are authorised to hold examinations for the purpose of issuing certificates certifying the knowledge, skills and practical experience gained by candidates. Furthermore, the Act lays down that the competent Federal Minister shall, by statutory instrument, determine content, goal, examination requirements as well as enrolment prerequisites and title of the certificate with which participants are equipped on completion of such courses. To date, this authorisation has been exercised in connection with the adult education vocations of office secretary and qualified swimming teacher.

In Sections 48 and 49 of the BBiG, special provisions for handicapped persons have been introduced for the first time. In accordance with these provisions, handicapped persons may be trained in recognised occupations for which formal training is required also deviating from the directive relating to training, and young handicapped persons may also receive training in occupations requiring formal training other than those recognised.

Educational leave statutes permitting employees the right to be released from their work with full payment of their wage or salary for the purpose of participation in adult education programmes for the duration of five to ten days within one calendar year exist in five of the Länder of the Federal Republic:

Berlin:	Gesetz zur Förderung der Teilnahme an Bildungsveranstaltungen (Law on the Promotion of Participation in Educational Programmes) of 16th July 1970, as amended by the law passed on 31st January 1975.
Bremen:	Bremisches Bildungsurlaubsgesetz (Bremen Law on Educational Leave) of 18th December 1974.
Hamburg:	Hamburgisches Bildungsurlaubsgesetz (Hamburg Law on Educational Leave) of 21st January 1974.
Hesse:	Hessisches Gesetz über den Anspruch auf Bildungsurlaub (Hesse Law on Entitlement to Educational Leave) of 24th June 1974.
Lower Saxony:	Niedersächsisches Gesetz über den Bildungsurlaub für Arbeitnehmer (Lower Saxony Law on Educational Leave for Employees) of 17th December 1974.

In Bremen, Hamburg and Lower Saxony the group of persons eligible under these laws includes all employees; in Berlin; and Hesse employees up to the age of 25 years. Altogether a total of 3.7 million employees are eligible under these educational leave acts

passed by the Länder in question. Above and beyond this, approximately 200 collective agreements concerning educational leave for employees were in force at the end of 1973, with the result that out of approximately 22 million employees, a total of 2.2 million persons were entitled to educational leave by virtue of these agreements.

Similar provisions exist at Federal level for members of works councils and staff councils. Section 37, paragraphs 6 and 7 of the Betriebsverfassungsgesetz (BetrVG) = Law on the Constitution of Enterprises of 15th January 1972 (BGBl I, p. 13) lays down that members of the works council are to be released from their occupational activities without reduction in wage or salary in order to participate in training and educational programmes to the extent that these programmes provide knowledge required for the work of the works council in question. In addition to this general regulation, each member of the works council is entitled during his regular term of office to be released from his work on pay for a total of three weeks in order to participate in recognised educational and training programmes. The entitlement is increased to four weeks for works council members who have been elected for the first time.

A corresponding regulation governing the release from duties for staff council members is contained in Section 46, paragraphs 6 and 7 of the Federal Public Service Staff Council Law (Bundespersonalvertretungsgesetz) (BGBl I, p. 693) of 15th March 1974.

Länder legislation concerning the second educational route opens up for adults the possibility of making good educational qualifications, at different institutions and facilities, which they failed to acquire in their youth for some reason or other. In this connection, mention must be made of educational institutions such as evening class intermediate schools and vocational extension schools providing students with the opportunity of acquiring university entrance qualifications or intermediate school-leaving qualifications. It is also possible for students to prepare themselves by attending courses and study programmes at recognised institutions run by adult education organisations for the subsequent gaining of school-leaving qualifications - secondary level, primary school level, intermediate school level, Abitur certificate - and for these students to sit for the corresponding examinations.

The Federal law concerning the individual promotion of training (Bundesausbildungsförderungsgesetz - BAföG) = Federal Education and Training Assistance Act of 26th August 1971 (BGBl I, p. 1409) provides by way of guaranteeing individual training promotion the financial basis for training all those pupils from Class 10 onwards for whom the funds required for training and living expenses are not available. As a result of the provision of this material security, the possibility is to be provided of reducing the selection of candidates for education according to social groups and of increasing the number of children

from working-class families studying in the more advanced training levels. Since BAföG came into force and up to the end of 1976, almost DM.10.3 thousand million have been spent by both the Federal and Länder Governments on promoting pupils and students. Since 1972, the number of those assisted has risen from 493,000 to 619,000 in 1975. In 1977, 587,000 persons received assistance totalling DM.2,500 million.

The law on the execution of sentences and detaining measures relating to the reform of conduct and security detention - (Strafvollzugsgesetz) = Law on the Execution of Sentences of 16th March 1976 (BGBl I, p. 581) provides that prisoners shall be given the opportunity to gain secondary level primary school-leaving qualifications, participate in vocational training, vocational further education, retraining or attend other training or adult education programmes.

The Programme for Action drawn up by the Federal Government for Promoting Vocational Rehabilitation and presented by the Federal Minister of Labour and Social Affairs in April 1970 constitutes the basis of various initiatives taken to improve the situation of the handicapped. The Programme for Action starts out on the principle that the existing medical, educational, vocational and social aids must be made available both rapidly and without a lot of government red tape to all handicapped persons. The Programme therefore considers a central concern to be that of improving the legal principles concerning rehabilitation. Since 1974 three major laws have come into force with the aim of realising the goals listed under the Programme for Action.

The Gesetz zur Sicherung der Eingliederung Schwerbehinderter in Arbeit, Beruf und Gesellschaft (Schwerbehindertengesetz) = Law on the integration of handicapped people into the working world and society of 29th April 1974 (BGBl I, p. 1005), deals for the first time with workshops for those of the handicapped who, on account of the degree and severity of their handicap, cannot find work on the labour market and who are therefore dependent on special institutions. These workshops are to enable handicapped persons capable of vocational rehabilitation to develop their capabilities by way of work training and occupational therapy to such an extent that they are in a position to occupy a workplace either in the workshop or on the labour market. Up to 1976, 230 workshops had been established with a capacity of approximately 30,000 workplaces.

The Bundessozialhilfegesetz (BSHG) = Law on social assistance of 13th February 1974 (BGBl I, p. 289), provides for integration aids for the handicapped, enabling such persons to train for an appropriate occupation, to continue their training in a previous or related occupation, or to retrain for a suitable occupation or other appropriate activity.

The Gesetz über die Angleichung der Leistungen zur Rehabilitation = Law on the adjustment of payments for rehabilitation measures of 7th August 1974 (BGBl I, p. 1881), aims to adjust the payments for rehabilitation measures - medical, for vocational promotion purposes and supplementary measures - which have been previously provided in varying amounts and to a varying extent by the different institutions active in the rehabilitation sector. The Law also aims to establish a speedy and smoothly functioning rehabilitation procedure, linked with the better orientation of the handicapped in the multi-sectoral rehabilitation systems.

The legislation in force with regard to the workers' pension insurance scheme likewise provides vocational promotion benefits for rehabilitation purposes which comprise vocational adjustment, further education, training and retraining programmes.

A further goal of the rehabilitation programme was that of developing a network of efficient vocational rehabilitation centres, in which the handicapped are given intensive medical, psychological and social care in addition to enjoying the optimal conditions for vocational training. Plans cover 21 vocational promotion institutions now nearing completion which can accommodate approximately 12,000 handicapped persons.

At the vocational promotion institutions, handicapped persons aged from 18 to 59 years are trained in the most widely differing occupations to gain qualifications at the levels of chambers of industry and commerce, technical schools and specialised institutions of higher learning. Mention should be made in this context of the Rehabilitation Foundation Heidelberg as a model institution of its kind. Besides the vocational promotion institution, this complex includes a rehabilitation centre for children and young people, a rehabilitation hospital, the research centre for rehabilitation and prevention for the development of methods by which to improve the social integration of handicapped persons and to prevent handicaps, as well as the Central Institute for the Promotion of Rehabilitation which deals with advisory, planning and development tasks, with the establishment and extension of rehabilitation facilities, and which is concerned with the development of new training methods and new technical aids as well as with the training and further training of skilled workers and executives.

A further exemplary institution has been provided in Bonn, namely, the "House of the Handicapped", intended to make integration into society easier, particularly for those groups of handicapped persons in need of special assistance, such as children and severely handicapped young adults, and to provide a place where handicapped and healthy persons can meet for the purpose of establishing social contacts.

For the blind, correspondence courses qualifying students for the Abitur examination have been provided in addition to special vocational promotion facilities. This Abitur study course, which has been designed so as to make use of the multi media, entails the use of tape recordings, braille teaching units, a guide to studies in the form of written documents and oral instruction. The study course can be pursued in free time while at the same time practising a vocation and prepares students in the space of seven terms to sit for an examination which can be taken as an external Abitur at the corresponding recognised national agencies.

Other pilot measures intended to provide better opportunities for systematic adult education for groups either not represented at all to date in this sector, or only to an inadequate extent, are discussed in the following paragraphs.

The Educational Leave Test and Development Programme (Versuchs- und Entwicklungsprogramm Bildungsurlaub = BUVEP). Within the framework of this programme, which is intended to compensate for the lack of empirical experience with educational leave programmes, 53 courses have been provided in all the subject fields of adult education in the various adult education organisations - adult education centres, ecclesiastical institutions, political education forums, trade union institutions and facilities offered by private enterprises. For the most part, persons belonging to the under-represented circles in adult education were selected as target groups: shift workers, workers with monotonous occupations, workers from rural areas and female employees with children.

The programme gives special emphasis to academic advice, which - provided by the Working Group for Empirical Educational Research in Heidelberg - deals in particular with the clarification of the interrelation of learning needs, learning aims and curricula and the appropriate methods of fulfilling and realising them, with the problems posed by the subjective and objective conditions of motivation to learn, with the learning response of groups up to now underrepresented in adult education and with the effects of external learning conditions. The results are to provide the organisers of educational leave and adult education courses with means of improving the range of courses they offer and to help solve the problems posed in attempting to court the interest of those adults whose motivation to learn is either negligible or non-existent.

In the project carried out under the title of "Model Seminars for Parents with Children" by the Schönhals Psychological Research Group, Munich, at the request of the Federal Ministry for Youth, Family Affairs and Health, academic advice was provided for 17 seminar courses for parents with children with the focus on issues similar to those studied under the BUVEP. These seminars were

examined as to their suitability from the aspects of motivation, didactics and content as well as to the presence of factors exercising either a positive or negative influence. At the same time, particular attention was given to the target group composed of women - women who on account of their family situation, income and educational level must be regarded as socially deprived. The aim was that of identifying new approaches and possibilities for planning future seminars to meet the requirements and needs of target groups.

Women also make up the target group in which a programme drawn up by Land North-Rhine Westphalia under the title "Promotion of Educational Measures for Non-Gainfully-Employed Mothers with Children" is focused. This programme gives interested mothers the opportunity to leave their workplace - "family" - for 5 to 7 days in order to attend seminars where they can discuss subjects from the educational, psychological, economic, health, biological, cultural and political sectors. This space of a few days is then followed by a weekend at the seminar, in which the entire family participates as a unit. Up to 1976, approximately 5,300 mothers with 8,000 children have attended such educational programmes since these promotional measures were introduced in 1972. New provisions entered into force on 1st January 1977. The seminars for gainfully employed mothers with children are now incorporated into the programmes of the recognised family education institutions pursuant to the first Adult Education Law of North-Rhine Westphalia. Apart from statutory assistance for adult participants, allowances are also granted for participating children. In 1978, 350 such programmes were carried out involving approximately 7,000 children.

The problem posed by the educational inequality existing in town and country areas and the important task devolving on the adult education sector of eliminating this inequality are the objects of endeavour under the project on "The Political Education of Adults in Rural Communities" promoted by the Federal Ministry of Education and Science and carried out by staff at a residential adult education centre and the Paritätisches Bildungswerk Niedersachsen. Under this project, 15 "educational weeks" providing 59 events were tried out in 1973 and 1974 in rural communities with a resident population of between 500 and 2,000 inhabitants. The study aimed to find suitable organisation forms, particularly for the groups of workers and farmers in the population who were less willing to participate in adult education on account of their relatively low standard of education.

A step was taken towards developing and intensifying group work oriented to the specific needs of target groups previously excluded from adult education facilities with the measures introduced for the promotion of the provision of libraries for foreign workers. In the town of Duisburg, a model mobile library service was tried out,

equipped with German and foreign literature and informatory material, which visited the districts in which foreign workers live. This experiment demonstrated that foreign workers - a group with which it is normally difficult to establish contacts - can be provided with reading matter extremely successfully by such a mobile library service.

A further project intended to improve the provision of foreign workers with books was embarked upon with the drawing-up of lists of foreign-language books which can now be obtained without difficulty from German public libraries too from a central agency. Correspondents abroad helped to prepare these lists of publications.

Also directed at the target group of foreign workers is the pilot programme "Further education of foreign workers" launched in mid-1977 in four German towns where there is a high percentage of foreign workers. The aim of the programme is to discover how the living conditions for foreigners in the Federal Republic of Germany can be improved by further education, how such education can help to increase mutual understanding and communication among sections of the population, and how German and foreign organisations and institutions can be induced to attend to the further education of foreigners to a greater extent and more effectively than hitherto.

In order to deal with the training problems of young foreigners in particular, the Federal Ministry of Education and Science has been sponsoring a pilot programme since 1979 designed to open up qualified training opportunities for young foreign adults. Proceeding from the fact that over 50 per cent of foreign pupils do not attain secondary-level primary school qualifications which are the prerequisite for qualified vocational training, adult education courses are arranged so that these young foreigners may acquire such qualifications after they have left school.

A project under the title "Adult Education in Penal Institutions in the Federal Republic of Germany" is concerned with the specific problems of the target group "prisoners". The project is being carried out at the request of the Federal Ministry of Education and Science by the Working Group for Empirical Educational Research Heidelberg and establishes the need for adult education measures for prisoners in penal institutions. Proposals intended to help in the social integration of prisoners during the serving of their sentences are elaborated in the form of an adult education concept which can be applied on a general basis.

Curricula intended to supplement both school and vocational further education for prisoners are being developed for courses of training under the social and practical aspects in the sectors of money, law, work, leisure-time, social ties and addiction problems. These courses will be tried out at several penal institutions in the form of pilot experiments accompanied by academic advice.

Social rehabilitation of women prisoners was also the aim of the "Pilot project for social rehabilitation and vocational training of women prisoners - integration of general education, socio-therapeutic measures and vocational training". Under this project, which was also sponsored by the Federal Ministry of Education and Science and carried out at a prison in Frankfurt/Main between 1973 and 1978, women prisoners were given an opportunity to acquire vocational qualifications. At the same time, particular emphasis was placed on enhancing their general education and on improving their social faculties. This pilot project was completed successfully and superseded in 1979 by a permanent project at the prison entitled "Model for the integrated general education and vocational training of women prisoners".

The solution of specific problems relating to educational activities involving older people is the subject of a different pilot programme. It is entitled "Further education of older people" and has been carried out in five towns since 1977 at the request of the Federal Ministry of Education and Science. It is meant primarily for those older people who, owing to their low educational and vocational qualifications, have made no or only limited use of further education opportunities earlier on in their lives. The aim of the programme is to test new forms of organisation, method and substance for educational activities involving older people and to provide agencies and societies dealing with such education with new stimuli and practical experience.

Another pilot project of the Federal Ministry of Education and Science is intended for the target group of unemployed adults with particularly unfavourable prospects of finding a job owing to their inadequate educational and vocational qualifications. Under this programme "Community information centres for the further education of the unemployed" were set up in eleven towns particularly affected by structural unemployment. The aim of these centres is to develop and test procedures for improving the personal and institutional conditions for encouraging poorly motivated sections of the population to undergo futher education.

The same target group is also involved in another pilot project which is sponsored by the Federal Ministry of Education and Science, carried out at various adult education centres, and co-ordinated by the instruction section of the Association of German Adult Education Centres. The aim of this project is to test suitable curricula and teaching aids in order to give unemployed adults an opportunity of acquiring educational (secondary-level primary school) or vocational qualifications.

There also exists a pilot project intended for a category of persons who are disadvantaged on account of both sex and region. It is entitled "Development and testing of adult education courses for female employees and other women in rural regions", was initiated in

1979 and is sponsored by both the Federal Ministry of Education and Science and the Government of Land Lower Saxony. Its aim is to develop adult education courses which are geared to the interests and expectations of the target group and which are suitable for enhancing the critical capacity as well as political and social faculties of the women involved.

In order to improve the organisation and accessibility of further education courses, the Federal Ministry of Education and Science sponsored the establishment of further education centres in various towns - Wuppertal (1973 to 1976), Dillingen/Saar (1976 to 1978), Marl (since 1978). Two other further education centres are currently being developed in the towns of Norden and Kaiserslautern. At these centres the various further education institutions of the community - adult education centre, library, as well as information, counselling and self-instruction centres - are brought together at one point so that the courses they offer are easily accessible. This siting arrangement makes it possible to take account of the time requirements of certain categories of persons, such as shift workers, housewives with children, and old people, thereby improving their access to further education.

PROVIDING AGENCIES

According to the decision taken by the Executive Council of the German Congress of Municipalities on 29th April 1976, the municipal adult education centre has the future task of attracting - by way of selective initiatives - those groups in the population who have up to now failed to recognise the opportunities and possibilities held out to them by adult education. These groups include young participants who face the challenge of making independent decisions for themselves at an earlier age than hitherto as a result of the lowering by law of the coming of age of young persons, elderly people (the purpose being to encourage them to fill their leisure-time with interesting activities) and also foreign workers, who are to be given advice with regard to legal and economic questions and equipped with useful information on the way of life in the Federal Republic. A wider range of programmes is envisaged for the target group of unemployed persons, including the development and testing of two special programmes of study courses preparing participants for secondary level primary school qualifications and for vocational adult education in accordance with the provisions of the Law on the Promotion of Labour of 25th June 1969.

In 1975, 195,546 courses were held at adult education centres. These courses, which were attended by a total of 3,761,000 students, consisted of programmes entailing more than four double hour periods in one session. Single events, including series of lectures, covered

64,766 evenings attended by a total of 3,747,999 listeners. Almost 70,000 persons attended study courses for the purpose of making good educational deficits, i.e. in order to acquire school-leaving qualifications (40,210 persons to gain secondary level primary school qualifications, 16,872 persons to gain the intermediate school-leaving certificate and 12,421 persons to sit for the Abitur examination). In 1978, approximately 40,000 people sat examinations at adult education centres.

The trade unions recruit the target groups of their educational activities for the most part from among their own members. A considerable role is played within the sector of trade union education programmes by "local educational activities", which are organised at both district and land levels. On the basis of the courses provided by local educational activities, advanced courses can be attended at the schools run by the individual trade unions and at federal level. The study courses provided by three academies - the Academy of Labour, the Academy of Economics and Politics, and the Social Academy - constitute the completion of the education programme offered by the trade unions. The vocational training and further education of trade union members is promoted at the institutes for vocational refresher courses run by the trade unions. Adult education centres and trade unions join forces in catering for the specific educational interests of employees within the organisation operating under the name "Work and Life". The particular objective of this organisation is that of enabling employees to practise co-responsibility and co-determination in public life by educating them politically.

The Churches have established a priority in their educational work with adults in the development of appropriate programmes for under-represented groups. The aim is to attract preferably older workers - in particular those who are threatened by unemployment - foreign workers, the physically and mentally handicapped, working and non-working mothers, unskilled and semi-skilled workers as well as workers with particularly difficult working conditions, such as shift workers, weekly commuters. (No participation statistics relating to specific target groups are available.)

In 1975, a total of 134,000 persons participated in vocational further education measures in the province of the Chamber of Crafts, whereas their study fellows in the province of the Chambers of Industry and Commerce numbered 285,000. During the same year, approximately 270,000 participants embarked in programmes for vocational further education, retraining and vocational adjustment promoted by the Federal Institute of Labour. The bulk of promotion was given to vocational further education (approximately 80 per cent), approximately 13 per cent was covered by vocational retraining, and barely 7 per cent was accounted for by vocational adjustment.

During the past few years, increasing numbers of persons have taken advantage of the possibility of gaining general education qualifications in schools by way of the second educational route. Between the school years 1965-66 and 1975-76, the number of participants all told rose from 14,833 to 37,836. Schools offering the second educational route were attended to an increasing extent by female participants. At evening class intermediate schools, the number of female students during the above-named period increased from 875 to 4,829, whereas at evening class grammar schools and colleges the number increased from 5,823 to 11,667, thus approximating to the sex ratio existing at the other schools offering general education. In the school year 1975-76, the share of foreign participants amounted to 2.2 per cent. The lowest number of foreign students was registered at colleges (0.9 per cent), the highest number of such students at evening class intermediate schools (2.9 per cent).

The Telekolleg (an educational programme offered by the TV network) has provided a new facility under the second educational route. The Telekolleg was introduced in 1966 in co-operation between Land Bavaria and the Bavarian Broadcasting network. Meanwhile, the idea has been adopted by others of the Federal Länder. This educational facility using the multi-media - the teaching of curricula via television, written supporting material, the provision of guidance and tuition for participants by teachers at state schools and - a recent addition - also at adult education centres - enables adults to qualify themselves for attendance at technical school (Telekolleg I) or for entry to specialised institutions of higher education (Telekolleg II).

Like the traditional institutions of the second educational route, the Telekolleg is intended to offer under-represented groups in particular the possibility of catching up on the secondary school education they lack, thus helping to overcome social - and particularly also regional - barriers. Television is a medium which lends itself extremely well to this purpose, because it is not restricted to specific localities as is the case where traditional educational facilities are concerned.

The Telekolleg I is now also available in the form of cassettes for use at further education centres, meaning that better study conditions are ensured for participants: the time of presentation can be varied, interruptions and repeats are possible if students become tired or have difficulty in comprehending the material.

A major prerequisite for permanent re-integration into vocation and society has been provided for the handicapped by the development and extension of vocational promotion facilities offering vocational education. The expansion envisaged in the Programme for Action on Rehabilitation in order to arrive at the number of 21 such vocational promotion facilities with a capacity of approximately 12,000 places

(including three special institutions for the blind with 480 places) is now about to be completed. Despite the larger number of study places available, the rapid increase in vocational promotion measures approved by the institutions responsible for rehabilitation resulted in bottlenecks and waiting periods. The measures taken in this sector covering six months and longer have increased from 11,407 in 1969 to 23,946 in 1975. By 1978, a total of 146,999 vocational rehabilitation schemes had been implemented. Of these schemes, 27,628 were devoted to basic training and retraining, 2,298 to basic skills and induction, 229 to further training, 97,290 to job obtainment or retention, and 19,555 to other measures. In order to obtain additional training places for rehabilitants, on-the-job and intra-firm training capacities must be used to a greater degree. The development on the labour market is of special importance for the vocational education of handicapped persons. Structural changes must be recognised in good time and newly emerging vocations must be adapted for handicapped persons early on.

The Deutsche Blindenbildungswerk (German Educational Institution for the Blind), an institution founded in 1972 by the German Association of the Blind and the institute offering correspondence courses known as the Akademiker-Gesellschaft für Erwachsenenfortbildung, Stuttgart, provides further education courses for the blind and those with very poor sight. This institution has concentrated its efforts in particular on preparatory courses for state examinations in the general and vocational education sectors. A correspondence course is to the forefront, preparing students to sit for the Abitur examination. In 1976, 186 blind persons took part in the various stages of this course, which was developed with funds provided by the Federal Government. In the meantime, the first group of candidates has been successful in gaining the Abitur certificate.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS WITH REGARD TO ADULT EDUCATION FOR UNDER-REPRESENTED GROUPS

In cases where the reasons behind the negligible participation in adult education programmes on the part of those groups in the population which were already under-represented in the initial education phase are to be found in the range of adult education programmes offered, the introduction of measures aimed at improving the further education situation of these groups is more easily to be achieved than in cases where other factors are to blame. Curricula will have to be adapted to a greater extent to the above-mentioned groups: content, teaching periods, methods and work forms are to be adapted to the wishes, interests and needs of those persons who have not had access before to adult education. Instruments for the early establishment of

adult education interests are to be developed in order to ascertain both the requirements and deficits of those groups who cannot articulate their educational needs and who are thus unable to exert any pressure.

Different projects aim to provide improved study material and work methods, with the result that latent learning ability can be encouraged and a lack of motivation be counteracted by activating the persons concerned to strive for clearly defined goals of their own choosing. It is most likely that concrete impulses encouraging participation in adult education programmes and relatively major prospects of success can be expected in connection with these programmes which relate to the actual situation in life of the potential participants with regard to occupation and family. It has been recognised for a long time now that in the case of many participants the practical application possibilities of the material they have mastered have a decisive influence on their willingness to learn.

As has been shown by various studies undertaken to determine the motivation structure of educationally under-represented groups, interest is focused for the main part on vocational further education. In this sector, however, participation conditions for such groups continue to be complicated by rigid admission requirements and insufficient funds. Priority should also be given to the improvement of adult students' chances of gaining vocational qualifications. Qualified vocational further education also helps to secure work-places.

An important factor in attracting groups outside the immediate reach of adult education is probably that of making access to programmes and study courses easier. Adult education programmes should be provided as near as possible to the homes and work-places of those groups whose interest has still to be won for the purposes of adult education. Long journeys to adult education institutions create additional reluctance on the part of those with less motivation, the handicapped, older people and women with children. Uninterrupted contact on the spot with those concerned is also required in order to develop programme contents and methods of work with groups outside the immediate reach of education measures.

A number of different solutions are being tried out for the provision of new learning facilities which also appear suitable for attracting new groups of participants. Independent institutions - so-called adult education centres - specially designed for adult education, which are open all day long, make possible the provision of appropriate programmes for specific groups in the population and the combination of free forms of learning with open communication. At present an attempt is being made by way of centres for "self-teaching" and "adult education centres" to attract new groups of participants

in the vicinity of shopping centres, right in the heart of the everyday environment of those potentially interested. At such centres the possibilities are tried out which are offered by learning carried out to a great extent freely by the participant concerned or by such self-teaching methods in conjunction with other adult education courses.

The provision of suitable education programmes within the reach of target groups is, however, not sufficient if educational barriers are to be removed and the willingness of under-represented groups to participate in adult education is to be encouraged. If such groups are to be addressed with success, active and systematic publicity is required, together with information and guidance up to individual assistance in the development of personal plans concerning the further education of potential participants.

Contacts with groups and individuals in the work and leisure spheres of such potential participants and in their family and social spheres can be used in connection with publicity and informatory measures. Members of works councils and the trade unions can also be drawn upon to assist in advertising adult education programmes. Potential participants should be addressed as systematically and directly as possible. The concept of animation is being used more and more in new strategies planned to improve access to adult education.

The project promoted by the Federal Ministry for Education and Science under the title "Political Adult Education in Rural Communities" has yielded important findings. It has been demonstrated that the assistance of local clubs and societies, and of important contact persons such as members of the district council, the local clergy and teachers can be successfully employed in attracting groups of participants with whom it is difficult to establish contact.

The press, broadcasting and television services play an important role in providing publicity for further education. Television is particularly important because it addresses in their homes those classes of society and groups in the population who have hitherto hardly taken advantage of the possibilities offered by adult education.

In order to furnish those interested with useful information and guidance, it is also necessary that the overall range of adult education programmes offered in any one region or locality be centrally listed and clearly presented. This entails co-operation and co-ordination between the various adult education centres and public planning institutions in addition to the pinpointing of inadequacies in the range of programmes offered and the development of a quantitatively and qualitatively fair distribution of such adult education facilities.

Appropriately trained staff are required in order to deal effectively with these planning and organisational tasks and to meet

the special challenges involved in educational work with groups unaccustomed to learning. Even though adult education will continue in the future to employ part-time teachers, the tasks at stake require to an ever-increasing extent that full-time instructors be employed. In this connection, it is important that these full-time teachers be appointed to positions not only in cities but also at rural district level and in smaller communities, so as to prevent the existing educational inequality from growing still further, thus placing those already underprivileged in this respect at an ever greater disadvantage.

In a number of projects aiming at the improved training of both full-time and part-time teachers in the adult education sector, priority is given to the goal of developing teaching skills, particularly in view of the requirements for teaching under-represented groups. A central problem posed by the socially fair expansion of adult education is - in addition to that of planning the content of the range of programmes offered - that of the systematic execution of these programmes. When planning the curricula of a range of programmes for groups not easily attracted to adult education, it is essential that consideration be given to the established needs and learning possibilities of the group of students in question. In each case, plans must be based as far as possible on the individual requirements of students, meaning that the curriculum should be sufficiently flexible to accommodate changes. An "open curriculum" planned in this manner, which can be adapted to any situation when required, is intended to promote the co-ordination of curricular planning with the interests and needs of participants. Co-determination in the learning process on the part of participants is an important factor. Work forms based on the independent activity of participants, providing optimal participation and communication, appear to be more suitable than the traditional methods of imparting knowledge, such as by way of papers and frontal teaching before the class.

Group work is often introduced in order to activate participants and increase their level of receptivity. The participants in an educational programme are divided into several groups in which it is possible to work more intensively and to discuss specific issues more thoroughly. This work form facilitates the strengthening of contacts, the teaching of co-operative behaviour and the easy identification of emerging problems.

The use of audio-visual media can also be regarded as a means of enhancing the attractiveness of educational programmes. Adults no longer accustomed to learning tire rapidly, particularly if they attend study courses at the end of a strenuous working day and therefore have a special need for inventive and interesting methods and

visual aids, such as can be provided by the audiovisual media. Moreover, the use of such media harmonises with the way in which just such under-represented groups are accustomed to acquire information.

Where groups not generally in touch with education are concerned, the expansion of the "building block" system, i.e. the development of clear and standardised programmes of courses which can be combined to form longer study programmes appears to be particularly appropriate. Learning by stages, which makes for the clear definition of learning aims and which brings about the more rapid achievement of learning successes, can effectively counteract reluctance to embark on lengthy adult education courses.

In view of the difficult learning conditions of a large number of groups of employees, adult education must become increasingly oriented to the available range of free forms of information and communication. Adult education courses in which the study programme is to a considerable extent flexible enough to accommodate forms of free activity and information make it possible to adapt to the capacity for information, learning and participation on the part of groups with hitherto either little or no motivation. In this connection, it is important that sufficient leisure-time be included in the learning process, in order to provide possibilities for recreation and reflection and also to create incentives for the individual planning of leisure-time activities, thus arousing initial interest in permanent further education. Adults' learning ability is determined to a great extent by their previous learning experience. For many, learning is associated with memories of failure, which in turn presents a barrier to efforts in the further education sector. For this reason it is important that a learning atmosphere free of anxiety be created by way of a co-operative work style in which learning is fun and in which participants soon realise that they are all in the same boat. If such openness is achieved, problems will be correctly identified and participants will be able to help each other. This again will benefit the hoped-for-learning success.

From the principle of orientation to participants' needs - programmes based on the actual requirements and life situation of potential students - the need arises for the establishment of a target group as homogeneous as possible with regard to the life situation and educational goals of its members. From the point of view of training, too, the prerequisites should be homogeneous as far as possible, in order to prevent the emergence of rivalry and education barriers within any one learning group. The demand for target group work results from the experience that adults are most willing to learn when they are given all the chances to do so in the environment to which they are accustomed and together with their peers.

PROBLEMS, DIFFICULTIES AND FAILURES

The second educational route with its traditional institutions - evening class intermediate school, evening class grammar school, college for adult education - was created in order to give every adult a new chance, especially those in those groups in society who had no opportunity in their youth to take advantage of further education. The various studies made to investigate the social background of participants attending courses offered by the second educational route reveal, however, that for the most part those in privileged groups have been attracted to this sector of further education.

In 1976, a study was carried out in Bavaria, Baden-Württtember North-Rhine Westphalia, the Rhineland-Palatinate and the Saarland concerning the social structure of participants in Telekolleg I. As far as participation on the part of the rural population is concerned, the Telekolleg appears to be offering improved possibilities - particularly as an ever wider public is becoming aware of its existence. While the inhabitants of cities were very much over-represented among the participants in the first study course carried out in Bavaria, their percentage dwindled during the following courses. The number of people from small communities steadily increased and now reflects the share accounted for by such persons in the overall population. The majority of participants had secondary level primary school qualifications, 80 per cent had successfully completed an apprenticeship and over 70 per cent had taken additional examinations after leaving school. This shows that the Telekolleg, too, attracts the attention in the first place of groups who already demonstrate some motivation where education is concerned, but, on the other hand, that workers are very much under-represented. In 1974, of the persons gainfully employed in Bavaria, 43.8 per cent were workers but only 10.3 per cent of the latter had enrolled for the Telekolleg course, the majority of them already possessing vocational training qualifications. Unskilled and semi-skilled workers were represented by less than 1 per cent. It was also hardly possible to contact the unemployed through Telekolleg courses.

Experience to date in the vocational further education sector has also demonstrated that those equipped with a qualified vocational training are the most likely to participate in educational programmes provided in this field. As has already been shown, workers in general, unskilled and semi-skilled and female workers were very much under-represented in participation in the measures promoted by the Federal Institute of Labour. The proportion of unskilled and semi-skilled workers attending vocational promotion programmes amounted in 1970 to merely 4.3 per cent, although workers in these groups account for 25 per cent of the male population in gainful employment.

The possibilities provided by the AFG as a result of the financial promotion of further education are, therefore, taken advantage of to the least extent by those very members of society whose needs are greatest from the point of view of employment and education policy. For this reason, the Federal Institute of Labour is concentrating more on assisting the unemployed - particularly in connection with the development on the labour market - and on helping employees threatened by unemployment as well as unskilled and semi-skilled workers. All these are groups of persons closely related in the labour scene on account of the connection between the lack of vocational qualifications and unemployment.

Since legal provisions governing educational leave for all employees - that is, not merely for young adults - only date from 1974 (Hamburg) and 1975 (Bremen and Lower Saxony), very few statistics are available with regard to the social structure of participants. The figures available show, however, that although it was possible to attract a larger number of workers - and women in particular - for participation in education study courses, these groups continued to be under-represented in this sector, too. Initial experience also reveals that difficulties are encountered in the endeavours to attract workers in these groups owing to the present situation on the labour market.

ASSESSMENT AND EVALUATION

Practical experience with the various methods of evaluating learning processes has been gained in Germany to date chiefly in the school sector. Several of these evaluation concepts have actually already been used in further education. They are, however, not always convincing since the reliability of their results is open to doubt.

Empirical teaching research is concerned with the task of identifying and describing in a coherent manner the content of didactic theory by way of established methods. Interest is not focused here on examining the planning, execution and evaluation of teaching, but that section of actual teaching practice which is regarded by didactic theory as being constitutive for the majority of existing evaluation methods. This section constitutes that dimension of behaviour in the teaching process which can be directly studied. The social situation of teaching is thereby reduced to the polar confrontation of teacher and pupils, where influence is exercised on one side only.

The major consequences resulting from this form of teaching for the orientation of most of the existing evaluation concepts are: the desired goal is that of identifying the functional dependence of pupils' behaviour on the teacher in each case in order to be able to derive therefrom efficient and effective methods of modifying pupils'

behaviour. The behaviouristic stimulus-response pattern of learning is compatible with this concept of the educational process. The interaction between teachers and pupils is thus reduced to the exchange of information between the teaching and learning systems, in the process of which the learning system is to be gradually transformed from an initial situation to a final situation deemed desirable by all concerned. The most well-known evaluation approach in this connection is the so-called leadership style concept. In addition to this approach - which is advocated in the Federal Republic by Teschner and Zifreud among others - evaluation methods are being applied in further education on the basis of the "group concepts" favoured by Bales and Tietgens.

Bales and Tietgens base their concepts on a general group model - quite different from the so-called leadership style concepts of teaching research which relate explicitly to the situation in learning processes in schools and which can therefore only relate to non-school learning processes in adult groups by way of generalisations and re-interpretations. Bales' and Tietgens' concepts claim to list interactions in every target-oriented discussion group and therefore lend themselves to inclusion in the range of instruments of an accompanying programme for further education activities.

The range of both procedures is limited to the behavioural level involved. Neither of them provides conclusive criteria for the integration of the learning processes taking place in adult education, since they do not relate to curriculum contents.

The academic guidance provided for the Federal Government's "Educational Leave Testing and Development Programme" (BUVEP) currently being carried out by the Working Group for Empirical Education Research in Heidelberg aims to largely compensate the shortcomings of evaluation methods practised to date. This academic guidance makes a distinction between product evaluation and process evaluation. The term "product evaluation" has been adopted during the discussions on curricula. Product evaluation means the establishment of an explicit theoretical relation between learning results and factors such as admission requirements, elements of the teaching process and of its context - a relation which, on the basis of results, will yield information concerning influential factors.

In contrast, BUVEP follows the principle of process evaluation. Observations and their analysis are restricted to the admission requirements of students, to the teaching process and to the valid context conditions. The product - the learning results of educational leave - is not covered by the academic guidance under BUVEP, or at least only to a negligible extent, on account of the conditions applying with regard to the content and methods used in the programme.

The elements constituting the teaching process are observed with the aid of normative rules, that is, didactic suppositions with whose recognition the entire evaluation concept stands and falls. These normative rules are based to a large extent on research to date and practical experience. Observation of the teaching process in educational leave is concentrated on those elements which are covered by these normative rules. The following are a few major examples of this combination of normative rules and the desire to observe the teaching process:

- teaching methods are investigated as to the possibility of both establishing and activating the experience of participants;
- the entire duration of the seminar is examined as to the capacity of the course to both impart knowledge and motivate action on the part of participants;
- curricula are examined in order to determine the extent to which they promote the ability of participants to practise increased co-determination and emancipated behaviour;
- the teaching style of the instructor is studied in order to ascertain its capacity for forming his students into a united group and for facilitating a collective learning process.

The data thus acquired from the continuous observation of the teaching processes in more than 50 educational leave programmes under BUVEP - two academic consultants attended constantly for the purpose of observing each event or course - are correlated with a comprehensive programme for collecting outline data: triple questioning of participants in educational leave programmes as to the expectations they had entertained with regard to the course attended, their social and statistical data and their satisfaction on completion of the course of study, and double questioning of the teachers (intensive interviews) with regard to the course of instruction given and their social and statistical data. The results of the academic guidance given under BUVEP, which contain for the first time data on the learning process in the case of adults in which formal interaction processes and contents are interrelated, can be expected some time during 1978.

IMPLICATIONS FOR ADULT EDUCATION POLICY AND EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL POLICY IN GENERAL

The experience and knowledge gained in the course of the daily work of further education organisations and institutions from further

education pilot experiments and relevant research clearly reveal the social imbalance among participants in adult education programmes. As a result, only those who have already completed secondary initial education have been given access to systematic learning as adults and have been able to benefit from comprehensive knowledge taught on an intensive basis within the framework of further education courses. On the other hand, it is obvious that a democratic society requires a high level of different skills and competences on the part of all its citizens. The economic efficiency and the social stability of any society depends decisively on the standard of education and skills which can be acquired by its citizens in each particular case. The expansion of further education with the aim of eliminating social deficits is a contribution towards improving educational, economic and social structures.

The inequality of the distribution of educational opportunities can be effectively overcome only if intensified endeavours aiming at reform can be successfully introduced for the benefit of under-represented groups. For this reason, planning in the field of further education has the task of integrating the concept of target group work more firmly than before into the various programmes offered by further education. Further education for target groups cannot remain a dispensable special facet of further education but must constitute an established priority of the work in this field. For the purpose of successfully introducing developments along these lines, methodical principles are to be drawn up or improved for target group work. Curricular plans for this sector of further education can be improved by way of intensified research activities and pilot experiments. Further studies must be embarked upon with the aim of establishing those groups which must be regarded as inadequately supplied with educational opportunities, so that more suitable curricula can be elaborated to match the conditions in which these potential participants both live and learn. A special role will be played by those projects which attempt to open up further education for under-represented target groups by employing new methods of recruiting participants. Further education publicity measures and guidance will have to engage more intensively in co-operation with other guidance and supportive services in order to become better adapted to the target group-oriented conditions of animation. Owing to the fact that traditional advertising methods using advertisements and posters have proved largely unsuccessful from the social aspects, a new strategy of active and direct participant recruitment must be developed in which organisations, institutions and associations outside the education sector must assist.

It will not be possible to achieve a breakthrough with the efforts directed towards eliminating social deficits until the under-

represented groups, too, have reached a proper awareness of the necessity of permanent education and better legal and financial possibilities become available for the purpose of systematically encouraging the demand for further education.

The media - in particular television - can make an effective contribution to the gradual spread of recognition of the importance of education if the need to digest and master the information within the framework of organised learning processes is also aroused as an additional requirement backing up the plentiful supply of informatory broadcasts. Not only the media, but all institutions active in the education and information sector are faced with the task of throwing light on those learning requirements which must be fulfilled if adults wish to cope efficiently with the numerous challenges presented to them in the work environment, in society and in the personal sphere. Public relations strategies should be co-ordinated to draw attention to the manifold functions of further education. Curricula at schools are to be designed in a manner compatible with the necessity of permanent education. Endeavours to forge a stronger link between school and further education should aim at fostering the idea that adult learning is the accepted continuation of the learning process accomplished in school.

The feasible opportunities of access to further education could be improved considerably if people could be convinced of the equal importance of both work and education periods or indeed if periods of education were ever to be planned as an integral part of working life. The provision of educational leave is a promising start on the way to the realisation of such goals. The experience gained with existing laws on educational leave appears to prove that further education can attract under-represented groups on the basis of specific periods of release from work with pay.

The promotion of education in general must be oriented more and more to further education and be adapted to the economic, psychological and family situation of the under-represented groups. In this respect, educational, social and financial policy must be in perfect harmony so as to permit concerted action with regard to the phased qualitative and quantitative expansion of further education. New policies with new perspectives are required in which qualitative and long-term economic categories can be incorporated in cost-effectiveness analyses.

Improved conditions for the expansion of further education can be efficient only when those institutions entrusted with the planning, organisation and execution of further education programmes and services have themselves become sufficiently efficient. In this connection, there is a great need to catch up on the inadequate capacity for planning and organisation which can be effected only by way of improved financial promotion on the basis of appropriate legal provisions.

Target group work in particular requires carefully planned measures which in turn are extremely labour-intensive, demanding implementation by a greater and better qualified work force. The innovation of andragogic research results in the reality of adult-oriented teaching and learning necessitates extensive planning work in each individual institution and organisation. The initial steps towards the development of the required planning and organisational capacity have indeed been taken with those further education laws in which provision is made for the wise investment of financial resources.

COMMENT ELARGIR L'ACCES DES GROUPES DEFAVORISES A L'EDUCATION

LE CAS DE L'ALLEMAGNE

RESUME

Dans la présente étude, l'expression "groupes sous-représentés" a été utilisée de préférence à "groupes défavorisés" pour trois raisons :

- la sous-représentation de groupes particuliers dans l'éducation des adultes peut être établie statistiquement, alors que l'on ne peut définir le fait d'"être défavorisé" qu'au moyen de critères d'ordre économique et social, sujets à controverse, et en fonction de normes et de règles sociales qui peuvent donner lieu à des jugements de valeur différents;
- l'expérience a montré que l'expression "groupes défavorisés" a fréquemment suscité des malentendus étant donné que l'égalité des chances existe officiellement dans la plupart des secteurs des sociétés démocratiques développées;
- dans les activités de la politique d'éducation qui visent à égaliser l'accès à l'enseignement, l'inégalité dans la participation peut être définie et considérée comme le point de départ décisif.

Cependant, il faut préciser que les statistiques, les études scientifiques et l'expérience appuyée par des preuves scientifiques, montrent que dans l'éducation des adultes, tout comme dans d'autres secteurs de l'enseignement, ce sont les groupes de condition sociale modeste ou ceux qui sont exposés à des formes individuelles particulières de tensions et de contraintes qui sont fortement sous-représentés et, donc que "sous-représentation" est pratiquement synonyme de "situation socio-économique défavorisée". La corrélation entre faible niveau social et médiocre participation aux programmes d'enseignement peut être considérée comme un fait établi : le problème de la sous-représentation dans l'éducation des adultes affecte surtout les groupes de la société qui sont faibles et dont on considère également qu'ils sont défavorisés parmi les catégories sociales.

L'ensemble des données empiriques dont on dispose sur la participation à l'éducation des adultes permet de répartir les grands groupes

sociaux (travailleurs, femmes) dont on peut penser en général qu'ils sont sous-représentés, en groupes visés qui ignorent l'éducation des adultes. D'après les données statistiques existantes, ces groupes sont surtout concentrés dans les catégories suivantes : les travailleurs qui n'ont pas terminé leur scolarité de base, les travailleurs des zones rurales, les mères de famille qui travaillent à l'extérieur, les personnes âgées des zones rurales, les travailleurs âgés qui exercent des métiers n'exigeant que de faibles qualifications, les personnes qui exploitent une petite entreprise ou un petit commerce, et les travailleurs par équipe. Plus nombreuses sont les caractéristiques qui s'appliquent en général aux groupes qui ignorent l'éducation des adultes (faible niveau professionnel, instruction médiocre, résidence en zone rurale, famille nombreuse, contraintes professionnelles particulières), et qui se conjuguent pour créer un ensemble de résistances, plus on peut systématiquement mettre en oeuvre des mesures pour l'éducation des adultes. Pour ce qui est des stratégies destinées à éliminer les inégalités propres à tel ou tel groupe du point de vue de l'accès aux études, il serait important, en raison du peu de ressources disponibles, de pouvoir déterminer des groupes bien définis qui sont, d'après les statistiques, les plus indifférents à l'égard de l'éducation des adultes.

A propos de la sous-représentation et de l'égalité des chances, il faudrait aussi examiner plus spécialement les groupes de population qui, parce que leurs membres sont individuellement exposés à des contraintes particulières, constituent des groupes-cibles pour des efforts intensifiés dans le domaine de l'éducation des adultes (personnes handicapées, étrangers, détenus). La sélection de ces groupes se justifie par le fait qu'ils se heurtent à des obstacles évidents s'ils veulent participer à l'éducation des adultes.

Le gouvernement fédéral et les partis politiques estiment d'un commun accord que c'est à l'état qu'incombe la tâche de fournir des programmes d'éducation pour les adultes, à condition que tous les adultes aient la possibilité de participer effectivement aux cours organisés à leur intention. Le soutien et l'expansion de l'éducation des adultes font partie intégrante de la réforme de l'enseignement destinée à créer un système global qui soit efficace, démocratique et qui réponde aux intérêts de la société. Dans sa déclaration du 16 décembre 1976 sur l'action gouvernementale, le Chancelier fédéral Schmidt a souligné l'importance croissante de l'éducation des adultes et la nécessité de combler, grâce à elle, les lacunes de l'enseignement et de la formation de base et de réduire les risques dans la vie active.

Le gouvernement fédéral estime que, tant que l'égalité des chances devant l'enseignement et les transferts entre classes et entre écoles au cours de la phase initiale de la scolarité n'auront pas

atteint le degré souhaité, il incombera à l'éducation des adultes de corriger la répartition relativement rigide des chances que donne le système scolaire et d'ouvrir ainsi de nouvelles possibilités et d'autres débouchés. Même si un système amélioré d'éducation des adultes n'est pas en mesure d'éliminer de lui-même les désavantages sociaux - tout comme la réforme de l'enseignement ne suffit pas à effacer les inégalités sociales dans notre société - un tel système qui offre l'égalité des chances peut contribuer considérablement à réaliser un équilibre social entre les classes de la société et entre les générations, et aussi à égaliser les possibilités, très irrégulièrement réparties à l'heure actuelle, de participer activement à la vie politique, économique et culturelle.

L'étude poursuit en donnant des exemples très détaillés des différents programmes qui sont actuellement offerts et en citant la législation qui s'y applique. Elle examine ensuite brièvement la contribution de chacun des principaux organismes qui dispensent ces programmes, à savoir les municipalités, les syndicats, les églises, les Chambres de l'industrie et du commerce, l'Institut fédéral du travail, le Telekolleg et l'Institut allemand d'éducation des aveugles.

Les problèmes qui se posent pour répondre aux besoins des groupes sous-représentés et les diverses mesures qui peuvent être prises pour les surmonter font l'objet d'une section importante de l'étude. Tout d'abord, les programmes et leur contenu, les périodes d'enseignement, les méthodes et les formes de travail devront être adaptés aux souhaits, aux intérêts et aux besoins de ceux qui n'ont pas eu accès jusque-là à l'éducation des adultes. Des moyens doivent être élaborés pour susciter précocement l'intérêt dans cet enseignement afin de déterminer les exigences et les lacunes des groupes qui ne peuvent exprimer clairement leurs besoins en matière d'instruction et sont ainsi incapables d'exercer la moindre pression.

Divers projets visent à fournir des matériels d'étude améliorés et à appliquer de meilleures méthodes de travail qui pourraient encourager le développement des aptitudes d'apprentissage latentes et agir contre l'absence de motivation en incitant les bénéficiaires à s'efforcer d'atteindre des objectifs de leur propre choix, clairement définis. Grâce à des programmes qui se rapportent aux réalités de la vie des participants éventuels, c'est-à-dire à leur métier et à leur famille, on peut très probablement s'attendre à des réactions positives en ce qui concerne la participation aux programmes d'éducation des adultes ainsi qu'à des perspectives relativement importantes de succès. On reconnaît depuis longtemps que, pour de nombreux participants, les possibilités d'application pratique des connaissances qu'ils ont maîtrisées ont une influence décisive sur leur désir d'apprendre.

Différents besoins sont ensuite examinés, à savoir :

i) faciliter l'accès aux programmes en dispensant l'enseignement à proximité du domicile des participants;

ii) concevoir de nouveaux moyens d'apprendre afin d'attirer de nouveaux clients, par exemple, créer des centres d'études sans maître;

iii) utiliser systématiquement une publicité attrayante;

iv) fournir à titre individuel des informations et des conseils;

v) nouer des contacts avec des groupes et des individus sur les lieux du travail et dans les centres de loisirs;

vi) diffuser la publicité par la voie de la presse et des sociétés de radiodiffusion et de télévision;

vii) faire appel à un plus grand nombre d'instructeurs à plein temps qui comprennent les besoins des groupes sous-représentés, et assurer leur formation;

viii) adapter les programmes d'études aux besoins particuliers de chacun;

ix) encourager le travail en groupe;

x) utiliser plus largement les auxiliaires audio-visuels;

xi) organiser les cours sous une forme modulaire;

xii) réunir des groupes-cibles homogènes.

L'expérience et les connaissances acquises au cours de leur travail quotidien par les organisations et les institutions d'enseignement complémentaire à partir des expériences pilotes menées dans ce domaine, ainsi que des recherches correspondantes, révèlent clairement le déséquilibre social entre ceux qui participent aux programmes d'éducation des adultes. De ce fait, seuls ceux qui ont déjà terminé leurs études secondaires de base ont eu accès à un enseignement systématique à l'âge adulte et ont pu acquérir des connaissances générales par des cours intensifs, dispensés dans le cadre de l'enseignement complémentaire. Par ailleurs, il est évident qu'une société démocratique exige de la part de tous ses citoyens un niveau élevé de qualifications et de compétences diverses. L'efficacité économique et la stabilité sociale de toute société dépend avant tout du niveau d'instruction et des qualifications que peuvent acquérir ses membres dans chaque cas particulier. Développer l'enseignement complémentaire en vue d'éliminer les désavantages sociaux, c'est aussi contribuer à l'amélioration des structures éducatives, économiques et sociales.

L'inégalité de la répartition des chances devant l'enseignement ne peut être efficacement surmontée que si l'on s'efforce d'introduire des réformes visant à faire bénéficier des programmes les groupes sous-représentés. Pour ce faire, il faut prévoir, dans les plans relatifs à l'enseignement complémentaire, d'intégrer plus explicitement qu'auparavant, dans les divers programmes qui sont offerts, des cours destinés à ces groupes. L'enseignement complémentaire pour ces

groupes ne peut rester un aspect à part et facultatif de cette activité, mais doit au contraire constituer une priorité reconnue dans les travaux entrepris. Pour mener à bien des réalisations dans ce sens, il faut élaborer ou perfectionner des principes méthodiques pour l'instruction des groupes visés. Des recherches intensifiées et des expériences pilotes permettront d'améliorer les plans relatifs aux programmes d'études dans ce secteur de l'enseignement complémentaire. Parallèlement, il faut essayer de déterminer les groupes dont on peut penser qu'ils ne bénéficient pas de chances égales, afin de concevoir des programmes d'études mieux adaptés aux conditions dans lesquelles les participants éventuels vivent et s'instruisent. Les projets qui tentent d'ouvrir l'enseignement complémentaire aux groupes-cibles sous-représentés en recourant à de nouvelles méthodes pour recruter des participants joueront un rôle important. Les services responsables de la publicité et de l'orientation relatives à cet enseignement devront coopérer plus étroitement avec les autres services d'orientation et de soutien afin de mieux s'adapter aux conditions d'animation destinées aux groupes visés. Etant donné que les méthodes traditionnelles de publicité au moyen d'annonces dans la presse et d'affiches ont échoué dans l'ensemble du point de vue social, il faut mettre au point une nouvelle stratégie de recrutement actif et direct des participants, à laquelle doivent prendre part des organisations, des institutions et des associations extérieures au secteur de l'enseignement.

Les efforts déployés pour éliminer les inégalités sociales ne pourront aboutir que le jour où les groupes sous-représentés se seront, eux aussi, rendu compte que la formation permanente est nécessaire et où de meilleures possibilités seront offertes, des points de vue juridique et financier, pour les encourager systématiquement à réclamer le bénéfice d'une éducation complémentaire.

Les mass-media - et en particulier la télévision - peuvent contribuer de manière efficace à faire progressivement mieux reconnaître l'importance de l'instruction s'ils font en outre ressentir aux auditeurs la nécessité d'assimiler et de maîtriser l'information dans le cadre d'un processus d'apprentissage organisé. Non seulement les media, mais aussi les institutions qui ont des activités dans le secteur de l'enseignement et de l'information doivent, entre autres tâches, convaincre les adultes de la nécessité de s'instruire davantage, s'ils veulent surmonter les nombreux obstacles qu'ils rencontrent sur le lieu de leur travail, dans la société et dans leur vie privée. Les stratégies de relations avec le public devraient être coordonnées de manière à attirer l'attention sur les multiples fonctions de l'enseignement complémentaire. Et les programmes scolaires devraient être conçus de manière à être compatibles avec la nécessité de la formation permanente. Les tentatives faites en vue de forger des liens plus étroits entre l'école et l'enseignement complémentaire devraient en

même temps entretenir l'idée que la formation des adultes est le prolongement normal du processus d'apprentissage entamé à l'école.

Les possibilités d'accès à l'enseignement complémentaire pourraient être considérablement améliorées si chacun pouvait être convaincu de l'égale importance de périodes de travail et d'études alternées ou, en fait, si ces dernières pouvaient être envisagées en tant que partie intégrante de la vie active. L'octroi de congés-éducation est un premier pas prometteur sur la voie de la réalisation de ces objectifs. L'expérience acquise grâce aux lois en vigueur sur les congés-éducation semble prouver que l'enseignement complémentaire peut attirer des groupes sous-représentés s'ils bénéficient à cette fin de périodes de congés payés.

La promotion de l'éducation en général doit être de plus en plus orientée vers l'enseignement complémentaire et être adaptée à la situation économique, psychologique et familiale des groupes sous-représentés. A cet égard, la politique d'éducation doit être en parfaite harmonie avec les politiques sociale et financière afin de permettre une action concertée en faveur du développement échelonné - tant sur le plan qualitatif que quantitatif - de l'enseignement complémentaire. Il faudra adopter de nouvelles lignes d'action, conçues dans une optique nouvelle, dans lesquelles les aspects qualitatifs et à long terme des catégories économiques peuvent être inclus dans les analyses de coût-efficacité.

De meilleurs conditions pour le développement de l'enseignement complémentaire n'auront de résultats efficaces que le jour où les institutions chargées de planifier, d'organiser et d'appliquer les programmes et les services de cet enseignement seront elles-mêmes devenues suffisamment efficaces. A cet égard, il est indispensable d'améliorer la capacité de planification et d'organisation de ces organismes, actuellement insuffisante, ce que seul un financement plus important, fondé sur des dispositions législatives appropriées, permettra de réaliser. Pour inciter les groupes visés à participer, il faudra prendre des mesures attentivement planifiées qui exigent un grand investissement intellectuel, car leur application dépendra d'un personnel plus nombreux et plus qualifié. Les résultats de recherches en matière d'éducation des adultes se sont traduits dans la réalité par un enseignement et des méthodes conçus pour les adultes et nécessitent des travaux de planification poussés dans chaque institution et dans chaque organisation. En fait, les premiers pas vers le développement de la capacité de planification et d'organisation nécessaire ont été franchis grâce aux lois sur l'enseignement complémentaire qui prévoient un investissement judicieux des ressources financières.

IV

WIDENING ACCESS TO THE DISADVANTAGED
A SWEDISH CASE STUDY

by the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs

THE SWEDISH BACKGROUND

The Educationally Neglected

The background to the debate in Sweden on adult education and to the demands for reforms has been the uneven distribution of education among different groups of the Swedish population. As in most other countries, higher education was traditionally the preserve of a small economically and socially favoured group. During the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s youth education expanded at a very rapid rate. It laid the basis for a more even distribution of education between individuals and groups. However, it will take a very long time before redistribution will be realised fully.

The standard of education is unevenly distributed between the generations, between different parts of the country and between different income groups. There are also differences in the standard of education between immigrants and handicapped persons and other parts of the population.

Differences between the Generations

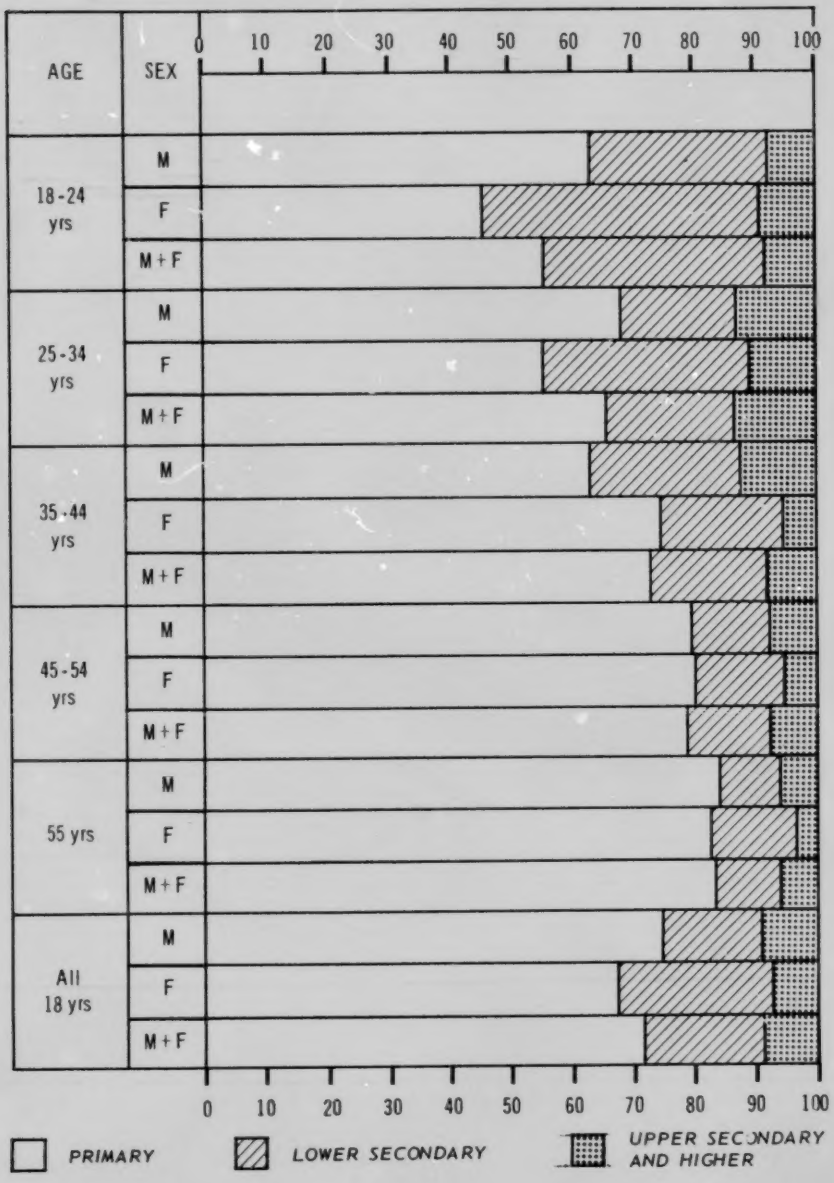
Paradoxically, it is the great expansion and democratisation of youth education that has led to the most striking educational gap. Sweden now has a well-educated youth group but a far lower standard of education among the older generations.

Several major statistical studies of the distribution of education were made in the late sixties. The educational gap was manifest even at that time. The proportion of persons with only primary schooling was above 80 per cent at ages of 45 years and upwards, but about 50 per cent at ages of 18-25 years. The standard of education at different ages for the two sexes in 1968 is shown in diagram 1.

Due to the final implementation of the 9-year comprehensive school, all young people from the end of the sixties onwards have had at least 9 years of basic education on leaving school. Now, in the

Diagram 1

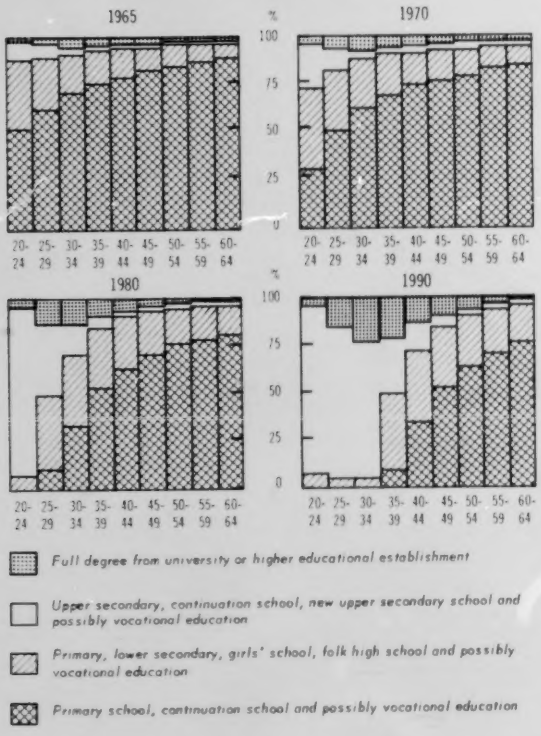
PERCENTAGE AT DIFFERENT EDUCATIONAL LEVELS



second half of the seventies, more than 80 per cent of young people have, in addition, two or three years at upper secondary school, that is, 11-12 years of schooling. This means that the educational gap between the generations will grow considerably unless extensive resources are devoted to adult education. Even into the Twenty-first Century there will be elderly people in jobs with only seven years of elementary schooling as against the very well-educated younger generations.

Diagram 2 shows the age distribution at different educational levels in 1965 and 1970 unless the picture is transformed by adult educational reforms.

Diagram 2



The differences in educational level between younger and older people lead to problems. The older and less educated may have difficulty in holding their own against the younger well educated persons on the labour market, even though the former's greater experience of working life is a distinct merit. The educational gap may also lead to purely human problems. The generations may have difficulty in understanding one another.

Relation between Limited Education and Low Income

There is also a distinct relationship between limited education and low income. The educationally neglected earn considerably less than the better educated. The Government Commission on Low Income Groups has made a comprehensive survey of the conditions for those with low wages. Of the 400,000 with extremely low wages in the Commission's survey, 67 per cent had only elementary schooling and 16 per cent lower secondary or comprehensive schooling. None had matriculated or gone on to higher education. If differences of income are to be reduced, it is necessary among other measures to reduce the educational gaps.

Relation between Limited Education and Place of Residence

A distinct relation exists also between limited education and the place of residence. In making comparisons between different parts of the country, it is customary to divide Sweden into three geographical types: metropolitan counties, forest counties and other counties. (Forest counties are the least populated and least economically developed.)

The following table shows the educational level as percentage of population in the three types of counties.

Type of county	Educational level %			Total	
	Elementary	Lower secondary or comprehensive (or equivalent)	Upper secondary, higher education	Absolute figures (thousands)	%
Metropolitan	61.2	25.7	11.9	1,404	36.7
Forest	76.9	17.5	5.4	812.4	21.3
Others	76.3	17.7	5.6	1,604.4	42.0
Total	70.9	20.6	7.9	3,820.8	--

It will be seen that the population in the three metropolitan counties is favoured by a considerably higher educational level than in the remainder of the country. The 7 forest counties have the lowest education. More than twice as many people have upper secondary or higher education in the metropolitan than in the other counties.

Other Educationally Neglected Groups

Other educationally neglected groups are the handicapped and immigrants. Many immigrants have as good an educational background

as the Swedes, but they must nevertheless be regarded as educationally neglected in the community as long as they do not possess a basic knowledge of the Swedish language. In the immigrants group there is also a minority of illiterates, and these of course have special problems.

Educational Opportunities

Sweden offers a rich supply of educational opportunities to adults. The entire youth education system is open to them. By modifying the qualification requirements an attempt has been made to make it easier for adults to study within the "ordinary" school system. According to a special rule, all persons 25 years of age and over and who have at least 4 years' experience in a job or looking after their own children, are entitled to admission to most higher educational streams without other qualification than the prior knowledge necessary to benefit from the studies.

There are also other forms of education specially suited to adults, arranged both by national and local government, by societies and union organisations, by employers, and by voluntary educational associations. We shall here present a brief account of the forms of education specially directed to adults.

Educational Associations

The work of the educational associations is based chiefly on three principles: free and voluntary study, connection with a popular movement, and the objective and all-round illustration of the subject-matter. There are at present ten educational associations approved by the State and in receipt of State grants.

The work of the educational associations is conducted chiefly in the form of study circles and covers the entire range from pure hobby activities to studies at academic level. The number of people engaged in educational association courses is very impressive. More than 2 million attend over 200,000 study circles every year.

The largest association is the Worker's Educational Association, linked to the worker's movement. Thereafter comes the Adults' School, associated with the Liberal Party and Centre Party, and the Citizens' School linked to the Conservative Party. Other educational associations are linked to other popular movements such as the Temperance Movement and the free churches.

Folk High Schools

The folk high schools differ in many respects from other comparable forms of education. The goal of the folk high schools is to give a general civic education, often with emphasis on a particular

sphere of interest. Some folk high schools concentrate on the teaching of music and other aesthetic subjects, others train youth leaders, others specialise in sociological questions.

There are at present 108 folk high schools, of which 47 are linked to the country councils, the remainder to organisations and popular movements. Nearly 50,000 pupils per term attend folk high schools.

Correspondence schools

Although there are only a few correspondence schools and institutes in Sweden, this form of study has had a great significance for adults. Earlier, the aim was usually to take a certain degree or to qualify for a profession or continued education. Since the growth of other forms of adult education, however, correspondence teaching has changed character and has come increasingly to be combined with residential courses or study circles. Today most people use correspondence studies for supplementing their knowledge in special fields. About 70,000 persons apply for correspondence studies every year.

Education on radio and television

Adult education on radio and television has greatly increased during the seventies. Educational programmes are broadcast for pre-primary school, compulsory school, higher education and adult education. The cost of these programmes in the financial year 1976-77 has been calculated to be more than 54 million kronor.

Local government adult education

Local government adult education is provided in accordance with the curricula for the senior level of comprehensive school and for upper secondary school, and includes also special vocational and technical courses. The teaching is mostly part-time, to a large extent in the evenings.

Students may either take single subjects or study for complete qualifications on a particular line. The teaching is organised in the form of concentrated study, which means that the pupil takes one or a couple of subjects at a time. Some 70,000 pupils attend local government adult education courses every term.

State adult education

There are two State schools for adults in Sweden. They offer education at the comprehensive and upper secondary school levels and special technical education. The two schools enrol about 4,700 pupils per term.

Labour market training

Labour market training is an important form of education in Sweden for increasing the number of vocationally trained and for relieving unemployment during recessions. Entitled to labour market training and training grants are persons who are unemployed, threatened by unemployment or difficult to place on the labour market. Other requirements are that they shall be 20 years of age and be registered at a State Labour Exchange. The 20-years-of-age requirement does not apply to single mothers, handicapped persons or refugees. The unemployment requirement does not apply to labour-shortage occupations.

Admission to labour market training is continuous during the entire year. The number of pupils varies but on an average about 30,000 persons are undergoing labour market training at any one time.

Trade union training

The two main union organisations, the Confederation of Trade Unions and the Central Organisation of Salaried Employees, have extensive courses for the training of their elected representatives and active members. The training is given on residential courses of from two days up to three months or in study circle form. About 140,000 persons attend these courses every year.

Staff training

State, municipal and private employers all arrange staff training courses. These are attended by some 35,000 persons every year.

..tacles to Education

Despite the considerable formal opportunities that exist for adult study, these are not utilised to a sufficient extent by the adults who most need them - those with a limited education. The investigations that have been made clearly show that those attending adult courses already have a good educational level and a satisfactory job. They make use of adult education opportunities in order to add to their knowledge, and it is principally young adults who do so. It has also been found that persons with a higher social and financial status attend adult education courses to a greater extent than those with a lower status. If the skew recruitment to adult education continues, the educational gaps will be increased rather than decreased.

The reason why so few of those who most need to study have not done so, despite the reforms introduced in the late sixties, is that they face a number of fundamental obstacles arising from personal

attitudes or life situations, the nature of the education offered, or social conditions.

Obstacles and difficulties of a personal character include:

- uneven and out-of-date educational qualifications which give the feeling of being altogether too poorly equipped to start studying afresh;
- general self-depreciation due, apart from the feeling of inadequate educational qualifications, to the feeling of "being too old to study" or uncertainty as to how to set about it;
- inadequate knowledge of the opportunities available, what alternatives are offered, the demands made by study, and the goals it leads to;
- external demands and problems such as lack of time, difficulty of combining study and care of children, work in the home, extra work, or unsuitable study environment. The latter may be due, for example, to lack of an undisturbed place for study in the home.

Obstacles and difficulties associated with the nature of the facilities offered are, for example:

- hazy conception as regards types of courses, organisers, and goals of study;
- lack of motivating, advisory and introductory measures which could facilitate both participation and choice of study;
- lack of adaption of teaching aids, working forms and methods to studies suitable for adults;
- uneven regional distribution of educational facilities. At many places the range of subjects offered is restricted.

Obstacles due to the social situation:

- lack of educational stimulus in certain occupations and branches of industry;
- difficulty in obtaining leave of absence from work for study;
- inadequate financial grants or forms of grant that are poorly adapted to adult students;
- lack of service measures such as care of children, transport for handicapped persons, and the like.

Measures Demanded by the Union Organisations

The union organisations have been among those which have urged the extension of adult education, especially on behalf of the worst

favoured economically, socially and educationally. The reason for the union engagement is simple. The educationally neglected are to be found to a large extent among union members.

The Confederation of Trade Unions (LO)

LO is the largest union organisation, with nearly 2 million members. Since 1969, LO has had a working group that has drawn up demands and proposals in the sphere of adult education. In five reports the group has formulated demands which to a very large extent have influenced adult educational reforms.

LO considers that adult education has a double role. By enabling the individual to develop and improve his own situation it can lead directly to a more even distribution of different values, both economic and cultural. It also gives people a knowledge of the conditions in society and this conduces indirectly to a change of the social structure.

For realisation of its goals LO has made the following demands:

1. Adult education must have the distinct aim of counteracting educational differences between generations and between groups within generations.
2. Adult education must be expanded considerably and have the same status and significance as youth education.
3. The content of adult education must be such as to meet the desires and needs of the least educated.
4. To bring the lowest educated into adult education, it is necessary that they should be actively recruited and helped to overcome the obstacles to study which they face.
5. Adult education must impart knowledge in practically all fields, i.e. a wider range of knowledge than is provided by youth schooling.

On the basis of these general principles, LO presented direct demands for political reforms. These were mainly:

- Start active recruitment at places of work in order to interest those with limited education in continued study and help them to overcome the difficulties involved. Active recruitment should be undertaken by work-mates in working hours without loss of earning.
- Employees should have the right to leave of absence for study with guaranteed security of employment and retained social benefits in order that adults shall not run the risk of losing their jobs or social security.

- Change the rules for State educational grants so that adults can study full-time without risk of loss of earnings.

As we shall see later on, these demands have had a very great impact on political decisions concerning adult education.

Another LO demand that has led to concrete results was that all immigrants should have at least 240 hours' teaching of Swedish and on the Swedish body politic, to be paid by the employer and during their working hours. We shall return to this reform.

In recent years LO has summarised its views on adult education in the demand for "recurrent education". This implies that all people shall have the right to and the practical possibility of education continuously throughout life. Periods of work shall alternate with periods of education.

LO demands not only that this shall apply to those who have left youth school, but that there shall be alternation of study and work for young people in their schooling period in order that they may be able to get to know the conditions of working life and at the same time acquire experience which enables them to make better use of their theoretical studies.

A central thesis in LO's view of education as a whole is: "A just distribution in education is not the same amount for all, but more for those who have had least".

The Central Organisation of Salaried Employees (TCO)

TCO, with nearly 1 million members, organises the majority of the salaried employees in the country. TCO is close to LO in its views on adult education but, being politically independent, does not lay the same emphasis on ideological aspects. But TCO, just as emphatically as LO, stresses the demand for equality between the generations, and "recurrent education" is a key concept in TCO's view of educational policy.

TCO considers that social gains, as well as gains to the national economy, can be achieved through the extension of adult education. The knowledge-need changes quickly in our society. A continuous development is taking place in labour conditions, which necessitates adaption of the individual to them. The possibilities of foreseeing coming needs on the labour market are also limited. A concentration of education to the initial years of life therefore gives rise to many mistaken choices from the point of view both of the individual and the labour market. In a system of recurrent education, on the other hand, the individual has constant opportunities for education. When the external conditions and his own desires change, he can acquire a new education.

TCO considers that extended adult education and recurrent education should have great significance for the development of working conditions. Education should contribute to a more democratic division of labour and increased mobility. Routine and low paid jobs should then acquire the nature rather of temporary occupations.

Like LO, TCO has demanded reforms such as active recruitment, right to leave of absence for study, and better educational grants for adults.

The Swedish Employers' Confederation (SAF)

SAF is the largest employers' organisation and represents most of the private employers in the country. SAF has pronounced itself positively on the extension of adult education.

The comparatively rapid extension of youth education, which in practice now means at least 11 years of schooling for about 80 per cent of the country's youth, has increased the differences between the generations in respect of education, says SAF. This may lead to problems particularly in relations at work. It may also be assumed that, among those with limited education, there is a large unutilised capacity which can be activated by education.

SAF calls for investments in adult education and gives several reasons for this:

> "Structural changes in industry require adaptation to new working conditions and social changes. For this reason, employees should participate in education at different periods of their working life."

We continue to quote SAF's own publication:

> "SAF wishes to draw employers' attention to the need for a better basic education among those with limited education. A better basic education will benefit employees in many ways. It can enrich the individual's life and facilitate his adaption to society. But it also facilitates the social relations at work and permits a greater measure of concertation at the place of work."

SAF recognises, finally, that adult education is to a high degree a concern for the parties on the labour market:

> "Many of the adults who should have greater opportunities for education are among the number of the employed. Adult education is therefore to a large extent a matter of common concern for the labour market organisations."

EXPERIMENTS IN ADULT EDUCATION

The realisation that adult education hitherto has benefited mostly those who already had a good education, while the educationally neglected took no part in it, and the demands made by different organisations, led the government in 1970 to start a widely organised experiment with adult education.

A committee was appointed in 1970, named the Committee on Methods Testing in Adult Education (FÖVUX). Since this committee has had a decisive significance for the adult educational reforms that have been brought about, we shall deal with its work in some detail.

The object of FÖVUX was, through flexible forms of study and different stimulating measures, to reach adults with limited and deficient education who, for geographical, economic, social and psychological reasons, were not taking part in adult education. The experiment, which was conducted in close co-operation with the Workers' Educational Association and the Salaried Employees' Educational Association, was organised in four stages over a period of five years and resulted in political decisions about relevant reforms.

First Year of the Trial

In the first year the trial covered only people in jobs. At some ten places in the country, union study organisers contacted employees at different places of work and offered them study circle courses in one of the subjects, Swedish, English, Mathematics or Civics. The places of employment chosen were representative of different working environments: heavy industry, firms with predominantly female labour, and work places in sparsely populated districts. The union organisers had attended a course on alternative forms of study and on the organisation of the experiment.

The courses offered were free of charge, as were the course materials. The participants were also remunerated for expenditure incurred through their studies, e.g. travel, meals, child-care, lost earnings.

A choice was given between three types of study: partly in leisure-time, partly in working hours (with remuneration for lost earnings); entirely leisure-time but with an incentive grant of 300 kronor; entirely leisure-time without an incentive grant. Of the 3,962 persons offered these studies, 2,074 (52 per cent) applied for one of the courses. Forty-one per cent of the applicants chose English, 29 per cent Mathematics, 20 per cent Swedish, and 12 per cent Civics. The majority, 64 per cent, wished to study in their leisure-time with an incentive grant, 30 per cent partially in working hours, and 9 per cent in their leisure-time without an incentive grant.

The main reason why the majority wished to study in their leisure-time instead of partly in working hours was that they considered their absence would place a burden on their work-mates. The small group which wished to study without an incentive grant did so because they did not wish to feel under any obligation.

Of the applicants, two-thirds completed their courses, 21 per cent did not turn up, and 15 per cent abandoned their studies before completing the course. Interviews with those who did not commence or who dropped out showed that, for about one-third, it was impossible to commence or complete the study circle courses. The others gave different practical reasons, but in many cases uncertainty and other psychological factors seemed to have been a major reason.

At the end of the first year interviews were held with representatives of the employers and of the union organisations at the places of work concerned and with representatives of the educational associations. A great majority of those interviewed considered that active recruitment by union study organisers was the best way of recruiting those with limited education for further study.

Second Year of the Trial

As in the first year, the aim in the second year was to test and evaluate measures designed to eliminate educational obstacles among adults with limited education. The trial was again conducted at selected places of work at some ten localities in the country. The employees were contacted by union study organisers who offered study circle courses in one of the subjects, Swedish, English, Mathematics or Civics.

Three of the localities were the same as in the first year, and the same places of work were selected. The trial was directed both to earlier FÖVUX participants and to those who had earlier refused. The latter were given a renewed offer.

The first year's trial covered only persons in employment and no division was made according to the form of working hours, but persons with day-work and shift-work participated in the same groups. In the second year special efforts were directed at employees in industry and nursing with three or four-shifts or complicated working hours. For these groups a special organisation of studies was tried out. The second year's trial was also extended to include women working in the home and employees in workshops for the handicapped.

The target groups for the second year's trial were:

i) Earlier FÖVUX participants

Persons who had attended study circles in the first year were offered continued study either in the same subject or one of the three other subjects.

Of the earlier FÖVUX participants, 52 per cent wished to continue while 48 per cent declined.

ii) Those who earlier did not wish to participate in FÖVUX

These were given a new chance in the second year.

As expected, only a small proportion (11 per cent) of those who had earlier declined now applied for participation.

iii) Industrial shift-workers

Industrial workers on a three or four-shift basis were offered studies chiefly in leisure hours, but with paid leave of absence when the circle met during working hours. It was judged to be impossible to arrange the circles during working hours, as these varied between participants in the same circle. The result was that the circle usually met in leisure hours, but on an average every third or fourth meeting fell in working hours.

Of the shift-workers to whom the offer was made 55 per cent accepted and 45 per cent declined.

iv) Persons with abnormal working hours in the nursing sector

This category corresponds to industrial shift-workers. The conditions for study were the same as for the shift-workers, i.e. chiefly in leisure hours, but when the circle met during working hours the participants were given leave of absence for study.

Sixty per cent of those contacted applied for a course, while 40 per cent declined. This was the largest number of applications in any target group in the second year.

v) Women working in the home

Women working in the home at six places in the country were contacted and offered studies, half with an incentive grant and half without.

Forty-six per cent of those contacted accepted the offer, 54 per cent declined.

vi) Employees in workshops for the handicapped

These are run as public institutions for persons who, owing to some form of handicap, are unable to obtain

work on the open labour market. Those contacted were offered studies either divided between leisure and working hours, in leisure hours with an incentive grant, or in leisure hours without stimulant grant.

Fifty-nine per cent applied for studies, 41 per cent declined.

In the second year of the trial an attempt was made to illustrate the recruiting effect of the conditions of study and of the study grant. The fact that shift-workers and persons with abnormal working hours were enabled to be absent from their work when the circle met in their working hours proved, as expected, to have a decisive significance on their ability to attend a circle. On the other hand, the incentive grant of 300 kronor, for example among women working in the home, had hardly any recruiting effect. The assistance in the form of child-care or remuneration for child-care, on the contrary, had great influence on the decisions of women working in the home to apply for study. For other groups the study benefit had little or no significance.

The great majority of those selected to participate in FÖVUX studies completed their studies. Those who never commenced varied between 9 and 23 per cent for the various target groups.

Those who had participated in the experiment in the first year showed a considerably greater tendency to complete their studies in the second year than other applicants. Only 9 per cent in the former group failed to start their studies and 10 per cent dropped out during the course. Thus no less than 81 per cent of them completed their courses.

The greatest proportion who never came to the courses was among women working in the home and those who had declined participation in FÖVUX in the first year. These two groups, on the other hand, included only a small number who abandoned their studies. Industrial shift-workers started studies to a quite high extent, but a large proportion of them thereafter dropped out. This group had the smallest proportion (57 per cent) completing the courses.

Both purely practical reasons and factors which may be assumed to be associated with uncertainty and other psychological hindrances were adduced by those who did not commence or who later abandoned their studies. Among the reasons given, purely practical problems would appear to have been the inhibiting factor in about 40 per cent of the cases, many of which were beyond the individual's control.

In the second year's trial FÖVUX reached its target group - those with limited education - to a large extent. Among those who had participated in FÖVUX and those who declined in the first year, practically all had had only 6 or 7 years of elementary schooling.

Among the industrial shift-workers 79 per cent had had only elementary schooling and in the nursing sector 80 per cent. The women working in the home had, on average, a rather longer basic education.

No evaluation has been made of the results of the studies on the FÖVUX courses. A consistent feature for all groups participating in the second year, however, was the great interest in continuing their studies. The proportion of those who wished later to resume their studies in some form varied between 61 and 85 per cent for the various groups.

This must be considered an extremely good result in view of the participants' short basic education and lack of the learning habit. The fact that so many continued their studies may also be taken to indicate that the FÖVUX trial was felt to be meaningful and stimulating.

Third Year of the Trial

In the third year of the experiment four of the earlier target groups were again contacted - employees with normal working hours, industrial shift-workers, employees in the nursing sector with abnormal working hours, and women working in the home. Study circle courses were now also offered to persons with a physical handicap - defective vision, deafness, hearing defects, and orthopaedic handicaps.

Shift-workers and those with abnormal working hours in the nursing sector were given leave of absence, as in the preceding year, if the study circle met during their working hours.

The result of the experiment was roughly the same as we have reported for the preceding years for the earlier participating target groups. The figure of applications from the group with abnormal working hours in the nursing sector was as high as 81 per cent.

For the physically handicapped the application figures were: defective vision 56 per cent, deaf 75 per cent, hearing defects 55 per cent, orthopaedically handicapped 35 per cent.

As in earlier years the possibility of studying partly in working hours had a decisive influence on the interest in and possibility for study, whereas the incentive grant of 300 kronor played no particular role.

Fourth Year of the Trial

The fourth year's trial was directed to shift-workers in the mining industry, employees with abnormal working hours in the nursing sector, and persons living in a number of sparsely populated districts in northern Sweden. The results were similar to those in the preceding years.

Conclusions

The FÖVUX experiment has shown that a very large proportion of actively recruited persons with limited education can be stimulated to study if the recruitment is properly organised and if certain important obstacles to study are eliminated. In residential areas about one-third of those contacted have applied for study, and at places of work about one half.

When there has been a great pent-up educational need and decisive obstacles have been eliminated by advantageous conditions for study - e.g. when shift-workers have been enabled to study in paid working hours - the proportion of applicants has been more than two-thirds of those contacted.

The study organisers should themselves belong to or have a background similar to the target group. It is therefore an advantage if the organisers are recruited from popular movements, e.g. trade union, political, or voluntary associations.

As regards large groups of persons with limited education, it would be difficult to recruit them to studies otherwise than by outreach activities in the areas where they live. FOVUX points out in this context the importance of adequate arrangements for child-care to allow persons with small children to participate in adult education.

The study circle has proved to be a suitable form of study for adults with limited education. In a study circle the pace of study and the course materials can be adapted to the participants' needs and capacity. The adult education organisations which are actively striving to enrol the educationally and culturally neglected groups in study circles must therefore be given increased public support. At the same time, it is important to preserve the popular movement character of the educational associations. Their activities should be supported, not controlled, by the State.

The FÖVUX Committee also presented a number of concrete proposals for increasing and facilitating studies among adults with limited education. These proposals have to a large extent been implemented. The reforms are presented in the next section together with other adult education reforms introduced during the seventies.

ADULT EDUCATION REFORMS IN THE SEVENTIES

The direct result of the FÖVUX trials was the adoption of special measures in support of adult education proposed by the government in 1975 and entering into force on 1st January 1976.

In the government proposals the then Minister of Education stated that the continued reform of adult education should be a step on the way towards "recurrent education". To further this development,

considerably improved educational grants for adults were proposed, and special measures for reaching those with limited and deficient education. The reforms proposed by the government were adopted by parliament. There follows a brief account of these reforms.

Active Recruitment

State grants are to be made for active recruitment at places of work. These grants are intended to cover the costs of training of study organisers, administration, etc. Grants have been made so far only to union organisations.

Continued outreach activities are to be directed also at groups of people with limited education who cannot be reached at places of work, e.g. persons working in the home, the handicapped, and certain immigrants. The educational associations are to participate in active recruitment in residential areas.

Educational Grants

New forms of educational grants were introduced for adults with limited education. The new forms are:

Hourly grant
Daily grant
Special adult educational grant.

The hourly grant is intended for studies in certain study circles: studies in trade union subjects, civics, Swedish, English, mathematics, immigrants' native languages. All employees are entitled to an hourly educational grant, but as the sum allocated is limited, the grant is made primarily to certain groups with specially urgent needs - persons with inconvenient working hours, especially those with troublesome shift-work hours, persons with physical and mental working conditions likely to cause stress, and persons with limited previous education. The hourly grant is intended to compensate for loss of earnings for persons studying in working hours. The grant was 20 kronor per hour in January 1977.

The daily grant may be viewed as a topping up of the hourly grant. It is paid when study circle studies need to be supplemented and reinforced by a few days of continuous study. The grant is divided into two parts - an income grant of at present 150 kronor per day and a boarding-in grant of 150 kronor per day (1st January 1980).

The special adult educational grant is intended for studies spread over a lengthy continuous period. It can be made either as full-time or half-time grant. The special grant is intended to compensate for loss of earnings and therefore (up to a given limit) is dependent on the student's normal income.

The hourly, daily and special adult educational grants and the active recruitment activities are financed out of a special employers' contribution, amounting to 0.25 per cent of the employers' total wage bill.

Apart from these forms of adult educational grants, adult students are also entitled to the ordinary forms of educational grant in youth education and higher education, namely grants which need not be repaid and educational loans which are repayable.

The Act on Leave of Absence for Study

For adults with limited education to be able to study, it is necessary for them to get leave of absence from their work. This applies especially to persons with jobs giving rise to physical or mental stress, who have difficulty in coping with studies in their leisure time, and to persons with inconvenient working hours.

A special law on the right to leave of absence for study has therefore been instituted. The law guarantees employees the right to leave of absence for study and continuing security of employment. The law applies to all employees in private or public service. Even a person employed for a limited period enjoys this right.

If leave of absence is requested for trade union training, there is no requirement that the employee shall have been on the employer's staff for any particular period of time. But for other forms of education it is usually required that he or she should have been employed either for a continuous period of six months or altogether at least 1 year by the same employer in the past 2 years.

The right to leave of absence exists whatever the type of education desired by the employee. It is the employee himself who decides what he wants to study. The right to leave of absence is not limited in time. If necessary for the studies, the leave of absence may extend over several years. An employee may not be dismissed or given inferior working conditions because he makes use of the legal right to leave of absence.

The Act on Rights of Trade Union Representatives

As we have already reported, active recruitment at places of work is essential if adults with limited education are to be encouraged to further study. The experiment has shown that active recruitment is best managed by union study organisers at their respective places of work.

Since 1st July 1974, there has been a special law granting special rights to union representatives at their places of work. The study organisers are counted as union representatives. This is very

important for adult education, as the law gives union representatives far-reaching rights.

The law on the rights of trade union representatives was instituted in order to give them greater security of employment, to strengthen their position at their place of work, and to guarantee them working conditions which enable them to carry out their assignments.

The most important point in the law is that it entitles union representatives to carry out their union assignments in working hours paid by the employer. The union representative is entitled, without loss of pay, to all non-working time "which may be considered reasonable having regard to his assignment and the conditions at the place of work".

What may be considered reasonable is agreed upon in negotiations between the employer and the union organisation. The union representative is protected against dismissal by virtue of his union work. If the union organisation considers he is needed at the place of work, he has precedence as regards job retention in the event of staff redundancies.

The union representative also has reinforced protection against the reduction of his wage. He need not accept a reduced wage if, owing to his union assignment, he is moved from one job to another.

The law also states that an employer shall in no way prevent or obstruct the work of a union representative. He is, for example, entitled to access to all departments and to converse without hindrance with all of the employees.

For adult education the law implies quite simply that study organisers have the right to engage in active recruitment at their place of work without restrictions and without loss of income to themselves.

Swedish-language Teaching for Immigrants

Sweden has been pre-eminently an immigrant country since the 1950s. Between 20,000 and 50,000 immigrants have entered Sweden every year.

Sweden is altogether opposed to a system of "gastarbeiter" and considers that immigrants shall be complete members of Swedish society. This presumes that immigrants will acquire a basic knowledge of Swedish and of the Swedish body politic. A special law on Swedish-language teaching for immigrants has therefore been instituted.

The main point in the law is that teaching shall take place in paid time, preferably in paid working hours. The employer pays the immigrant's wage during teaching hours regardless of whether they fall in his normal working hours or at another time.

Immigrants were earlier entitled to free-of-charge teaching in their leisure-time, but it was found that very few of them made use of the opportunity. Few were up to attending a course at the end of a working day.

The law applies to all immigrants except those who have Swedish (the Finns have a Swedish-speaking minority), Norwegian or Danish as their mother tongue or who know sufficient Swedish to get along in Sweden. The question who has a sufficient knowledge of Swedish is decided by a special test.

To decide which immigrants shall be entitled to Swedish language instruction and for how long a period, a distinction is drawn between two main groups; those who received their first employment in Sweden before 1st January 1973, and those who received their first employment after that date.

All immigrants whose first employment started after 1st January 1973 are entitled to 240 hours' paid leave of absence for teaching. Employers are under the obligation, within 60 days of the start of employment, to inform immigrants of their right to Swedish-language instruction.

For immigrants whose first employment started before 1st January 1973, there are special transitional regulations. They are entitled to 240 or 160 hours' teaching depending on their present knowledge of Swedish. The teaching is given by the voluntary educational associations approved by the government.

Radio and Television in Adult Education

To extend and improve adult education on radio and television, parliament decided in 1976 that the present educational units of the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation should be combined in a new enterprise, Swedish Educational Radio Corporation.

In the government bill adopted by parliament, the then Minister of Education stated: "The broadcasting unit should, in my opinion, concentrate especially on adult educational programmes which can bridge the educational gaps between and within the generations and which can increase the individual's consciousness and stimulate him to active participation in public work and cultural life."

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The chief experience gained from the intensive educational reforms in Sweden during the sixties and seventies is that it is not sufficient to give all people the formal right to education. If it is desired to give those with the lowest basic education real possibilities of continued study, a whole series of personal and social obstacles must be eliminated.

In the sixties, youth education was very greatly expanded. All young people are now given at least 9 years of basic education and some 80 per cent continue to study for two or three years longer. Initial schooling is in principle open also to adults, but in practice is used to a very small extent.

Local government adult education, which started in the late sixties, has brought a great increase in the number of adult students. It was not primarily those with limited education who made use of this opportunity.

It was only through the experiments with special measures to eliminate the obstacles faced by those with limited education that we succeeded in stimulating them to further study. The experiments proved that a large proportion of people with limited education can be recruited for study by active recruitment at places of work and in residential areas and by introducing methods of study and study grants adapted to the needs of adults with limited education.

The reforms to which the trials led have been in force for five years and no thorough evaluation of their results has been made. But certain concrete problems are already apparent. We shall point to some of them.

For parents of small children the lack of child-care is a serious obstacle to study. Day nurseries have been built on a large scale in recent years, but they are only open during normal working hours.

The law on leave of absence for study gives all employees the formal right to leave of absence for study. But for many employees it may be difficult to make use of this right. Many are disinclined to be absent from work owing to the added burden placed on their workmates.

Active recruitment at places of work has proved to be a good method of recruiting persons with limited education for further study. But an important condition is that there must be study organisers interested in and well-trained for the task. There are still deficiencies in this respect.

These problems cannot conceal the fact, however, that the educational reforms of the seventies have been a great step towards real democratisation of education. Many more people with limited education are now receiving further education.

The aim is that in due course we shall arrive at a system of alternate education and employment during the greater part of life, a system of recurrent education. If this is to be a reality for all, continued reforms are necessary.

COMMENT ELARGIR L'ACCES DES GROUPES DEFAVORISES A L'EDUCATION

LE CAS DE LA SUEDE

RESUME

Le débat qui s'est engagé en Suède sur l'éducation des adultes, de même que les réformes de l'enseignement qui sont réclamées, ont été inspirés par la répartition inégale de chances d'enseignement entre les divers groupes de la population suédoise. Comme dans la plupart des autres pays, l'enseignement supérieur était traditionnellement le domaine réservé d'un petit groupe favorisé tant sur le plan économique que social. Au cours des années 50 et 60 et au début des années 70, l'enseignement des jeunes s'est développé à une cadence très rapide, et c'est ainsi qu'ont été jetées les bases d'une répartition plus équitable des chances d'accès à l'enseignement entre les individus et les groupes. Cependant, la réalisation complète de l'objectif d'égalité sera une tâche de très longue haleine.

Les niveaux d'instruction sont inégalement répartis entre les générations, entre les différentes régions du pays et entre les différents groupes de revenus. Ces niveaux diffèrent également selon qu'il s'agit d'immigrés, de handicapés ou d'autres éléments de la population.

Paradoxalement, c'est justement la forte expansion et l'importante démocratisation de l'enseignement des jeunes qui est à l'origine de l'écart le plus spectaculaire entre niveaux d'instruction. En Suède, il existe maintenant un groupe de jeunes instruits, mais le bagage scolaire des générations précédentes est beaucoup plus faible.

Plusieurs études statistiques importantes sur la répartition des possibilités d'éducation ont été faites à la fin des années 60. L'écart entre les niveaux d'instruction était manifeste, même à cette époque. Ceux qui n'avaient qu'une formation primaire représentaient plus de 80% des adultes de 45 ans et plus, et environ 50% des jeunes de 18 à 25 ans.

L'écart entre les niveaux d'instruction des jeunes et des moins jeunes crée des problèmes. En effet, ces derniers, moins cultivés, éprouvent des difficultés à se défendre sur le marché du travail contre les jeunes instruits, même si leur plus grande expérience de la vie active est un incontestable avantage. L'écart entre niveaux

d'instruction risque aussi de susciter des problèmes purement humains - les différentes générations pouvant éprouver des difficultés à se comprendre.

En outre, un faible niveau d'instruction et des revenus modestes sont manifestement liés : ceux qui ont négligé leur éducation gagnent beaucoup moins que ceux qui sont plus instruits. La Commission gouvernementale sur les groupes à faible revenu a mené une enquête approfondie sur la situation de ceux qui touchent de bas salaires. Sur les 400 000 personnes extrêmement peu rémunérées interrogées lors de cette enquête, 67% n'avaient qu'une formation primaire et 16% avaient suivi un enseignement secondaire du premier cycle ou un enseignement polyvalent. Aucune n'avait été admise à l'université ni fréquenté un établissement d'enseignement supérieur. Pour réduire les différences entre les revenus, il est donc nécessaire, entre autres, de combler les écarts entre les niveaux d'instruction.

Les handicapés et les immigrés sont également des groupes dont l'instruction est insuffisante. De nombreux immigrés ont un bagage intellectuel qui vaut bien celui des Suédois, mais on considère dans la communauté que leur formation a des lacunes aussi longtemps qu'ils ne possèdent pas les rudiments de la langue suédoise. Parmi les immigrés, il existe également une minorité d'illettrés qui éprouvent bien entendu des difficultés particulières.

En dépit de leur nombre, les possibilités d'études officiellement offertes aux adultes ne sont pas suffisamment utilisées par ceux qui en ont le plus besoin - ceux dont le niveau d'instruction est insuffisant. D'après différents enquêtes, il est clair que ceux qui fréquentent les cours pour adultes ont déjà atteint un bon niveau d'instruction et ont un emploi satisfaisant. S'ils suivent un enseignement pour adultes - ce que font surtout les jeunes - c'est pour acquérir de nouvelles connaissances. En outre, on a constaté que les personnes ayant une situation sociale et financière assez élevée fréquentaient davantage les cours pour adultes que celles qui appartiennent à une classe modeste. Si ce recrutement peu rationnel pour l'éducation des adultes se poursuit, les écarts entre les niveaux d'instruction, loin de se combler, se creuseront davantage.

Si ceux qui ont le plus besoin d'étudier ont été si peu nombreux à le faire, en dépit des réformes mises en oeuvre à la fin des années soixante, c'est parce qu'ils se heurtent à de multiples obstacles dus à leur attitude personnelle ou à leurs conditions de vie, à la nature de l'enseignement qui leur est offert ou à leur situation sociale.

Les obstacles et les difficultés d'ordre personnel sont notamment les suivants :

- connaissances inégales et périmées qui donnent le sentiment d'avoir un bagage intellectuel beaucoup trop mince pour pouvoir entreprendre de nouvelles études;

- modestie excessive due avant tout au sentiment de ne pas être suffisamment instruit, mais aussi à l'idée qu'on est "trop âgé pour étudier", ou incertitude au sujet de la manière de s'y prendre;
- connaissance insuffisante des possibilités existantes, des diverses options offertes, des exigences des études et des objectifs qu'elles permettent d'atteindre;
- exigences et problèmes extérieurs, tels que le manque de temps, la difficulté que l'on éprouve à mener de front les études et la garde des enfants, les travaux ménagers, les heures supplémentaires ou un environnement qui ne se prête pas à l'étude, cette dernière difficulté pouvant être due, par exemple, au fait de ne pouvoir étudier sans être dérangé dans le foyer.

Les obstacles et les difficultés suscités par la nature de l'enseignement offert sont, par exemple, les suivants :

- notions vagues en ce qui concerne les types de cours, ceux qui les dispensent, les objectifs de l'étude;
- manque de motivation et absence de services d'orientation et de conseils qui pourraient faciliter aussi bien la participation aux études que le choix des matières;
- matériels didactiques, formes et méthodes de travail ne convenant pas aux adultes;
- répartition inégale des possibilités d'instruction selon les régions - dans beaucoup d'endroits, la gamme des sujets offerts est limitée.

Les obstacles dus à la situation sociale sont les suivants :

- manque d'incitations à s'instruire dû à certains métiers et certaines branches de l'industrie;
- difficulté d'obtenir des congés pour entreprendre des études;
- subventions financières inadéquates ou formes de subventions mal adaptées à des étudiants adultes;
- manque de services, par exemple pour la garde des enfants, le transport des handicapés, et ainsi de suite.

Les organisations syndicales, entre autres, ont réclamé instamment la généralisation de l'éducation des adultes, surtout pour les groupes les plus défavorisés sur les plans économique, social et éducatif. La raison de l'engagement des syndicats est simple - c'est surtout parmi leurs membres que l'on trouve les personnes les plus défavorisées du point de vue de l'instruction. D'autres organisations qui s'intéressent à la question sont l'Organisation centrale des employés salariés (TCO) et la Confédération suédoise des employeurs (SAF).

Conscient du fait que l'éducation des adultes avait jusque là bénéficié surtout à ceux qui avaient déjà une bonne instruction, alors que ceux dont l'instruction était insuffisante n'y participaient pas, le gouvernement a été amené à entreprendre en 1970 une expérience de vaste portée relative à cette forme d'éducation.

Le Comité sur les méthodes d'évaluation de l'éducation des adultes (FÖVUX) a été créé en 1970. Etant donné le rôle décisif qu'il a joué dans les réformes dans ce domaine, nous examinerons en détail ses activités.

Le FÖVUX avait pour mission d'atteindre, grâce à des formes d'étude souples et à diverses mesures d'incitation, les adultes dont l'instruction était insuffisante et qui, pour des raisons d'ordre géographique, économique, social et phychologique, ne participaient pas à l'éducation des adultes. L'expérience, qui a été menée en collaboration étroite avec l'Association pour l'éducation des travailleurs manuels et l'Association pour l'éducation des employés salariés, a été organisée en quatre stades, répartis sur cinq ans, et a abouti à des décisions politiques concernant les réformes qui s'imposaient.

L'expérience du FÖVUX a montré qu'un pourcentage très élevé de personnes ayant peu d'instruction pouvait être incité à étudier si le recrutement était actif et bien organisé et si certains obstacles importants qui s'y opposaient étaient levés. Un tiers environ des personnes sollicitées dans les quartiers d'habitation et quelque 50% de celles avec lesquelles on avait pris contact sur leur lieu de travail se sont inscrites aux cours.

Lorsqu'il existait un important besoin d'instruction refoulé et que les obstacles décisifs avaient été éliminés - par exemple, lorsque des travailleurs par équipes avaient été autorisés à étudier pendant leurs heures de travail payées - le pourcentage des candidats a atteint les deux tiers des personnes touchées.

Les organisateurs des études pour adultes devraient appartenir eux-mêmes au groupe visé ou à un milieu similaire. En conséquence, il y a intérêt à les recruter dans des mouvements populaires, par exemple, syndicats ou associations politiques ou bénévoles.

Quant aux groupes importants de personnes n'ayant qu'une instruction limitée, il serait difficile de les recruter sans étendre les activités aux quartiers où elles vivent. A ce sujet, le FÖVUX souligne qu'il est important de prendre des dispositions appropriées pour assurer la garde des enfants afin que les parents d'enfants en bas âge puissent participer à l'éducation des adultes.

Le cercle d'études est une formule qui convient particulièrement aux adultes n'ayant qu'une instruction limitée. En effet, dans ces cercles, la cadence des études et les matériels didactiques peuvent être adaptés aux besoins et aux aptitudes des élèves. Les organisations chargées de l'éducation des adultes qui s'efforcent activement

d'inscrire dans des cercles d'études les groupes défavorisés sur le plan de l'instruction et de la culture doivent donc bénéficier d'un appui accru des pouvoirs publics. En même temps, il est important de préserver le caractère de mouvement populaire des associations pour l'éducation des travailleurs et salariés dont les activités devraient être subventionnées, mais non contrôlées, par l'Etat.

Le Comité FÖVUX a également présenté un certain nombre de propositions concrètes - qui ont pour la plupart été appliquées - destinées à développer et à faciliter les études pour les adultes dont l'instruction est insuffisante.

Pour que les adultes dont la scolarité a été interrompue puissent reprendre des études, ils doivent pouvoir obtenir de leur employeur qu'il leur accorde des congés, et en particulier ceux qui sont soumis à des contraintes physiques ou mentales dans leur travail, qui peuvent difficilement étudier pendant leurs heures de loisir ou qui ont des heures de travail incommodes.

Une loi spéciale sur le droit au congé-éducation a donc été promulguée : elle garantit aux employés le droit à un congé-éducation sans préjudice de la sécurité de leur emploi.

La subvention horaire est destinée aux études effectuées dans certains cercles d'études, ceux qui portent sur le syndicalisme, l'instruction civique, le suédois, l'anglais, les mathématiques et la langue maternelle des immigrés. Tous les employés ont droit à des subventions horaires en vue de poursuivre leurs études, mais les sommes qui y sont affectées étant limitées, elles sont surtout accordées aux groupes dont les besoins doivent être satisfaits en priorité - personnes ayant des heures de travail peu commodes, et surtout celles qui travaillent en équipes, personnes dont les conditions de travail sont susceptibles de créer des tensions sur les plans physique et mental et personnes n'ayant bénéficié précédemment que d'un enseignement limité. La subvention horaire, qui était en janvier 1977 de 20 couronnes, est destinée à compenser la perte de salaire de ceux qui étudient pendant les heures de travail.

La subvention journalière peut être considérée comme un complément de la subvention horaire : elle est versée lorsque les études organisées par les cercles doivent être complétées et renforcées par quelques journées d'études continues. Elle comprend deux éléments - une subvention de base de 150 couronnes par jour et une indemnité de subsistance de 150 couronnes (au 1er janvier 1980).

La principale conclusion qui se dégage des grandes réformes de l'enseignement réalisées en Suède au cours des années 60 et 70 est qu'il ne suffit pas de donner officiellement à tous le droit à l'éducation. Si l'on veut offrir à tous ceux qui n'ont qu'une instruction de base minimale de véritables possibilités de poursuivre des études, il faut éliminer toute une série d'obstacles d'ordre personnel et social.

Pendant les années 60, l'éducation des jeunes s'est très fortement développée. Tous les jeunes gens bénéficient maintenant de neuf années au moins de scolarité de base et quelque 80% d'entre eux prolongent leurs études de deux ou trois ans. En principe, les adultes également sont accueillis dans les écoles, mais dans la pratique, ils n'utilisent que très rarement ce droit.

L'enseignement communal pour adultes, qui a été mis en route à la fin des années 60, a contribué à augmenter fortement le nombre d'étudiants adultes, mais ce ne sont pas principalement les personnes insuffisamment instruites qui ont profité des possibilités ainsi offertes.

C'est uniquement grâce aux mesures que nous avons expérimentées pour éliminer les obstacles auxquels font face ceux qui sont insuffisamment instruits que nous avons réussi à les inciter à reprendre des études. Ces mesures ont prouvé qu'on peut attirer un pourcentage élevé de ces personnes vers les cours pour adultes si on pousse activement le recrutement sur les lieux de travail et dans les quartiers d'habitation et si l'on offre des méthodes d'enseignement et des subventions d'études adaptées à leurs besoins.

Les réformes issues de ces expériences sont en vigueur depuis cinq ans et aucune évaluation approfondie de leurs résultats n'a été effectuée. Mais certains problèmes concrets se dégagent déjà. Nous allons en évoquer quelques-uns.

Pour les parents d'enfants en bas âge, l'impossibilité de les faire garder est un obstacle sérieux aux études. Des crèches ont été construites en grand nombre depuis quelques années, mais elles ne sont ouvertes qu'aux heures de travail normales.

La loi sur les congés-éducation donne à tous les employés le droit de bénéficier de cet avantage, mais ils éprouvent parfois des difficultés à s'en prévaloir. Très souvent, ils hésitent à quitter leur poste en raison du travail supplémentaire qu'ils imposent ainsi à leurs collègues.

L'expérience prouve que le recrutement actif sur les lieux du travail est un bon moyen d'attirer vers les études complémentaires ceux qui n'ont qu'une instruction limitée. Mais il est important que les organisateurs des études s'intéressent à cette tâche et soient formés pour l'accomplir, ce que n'est pas toujours le cas.

Malgré ces difficultés, on ne peut mettre en doute le fait que les réformes des années 70 ont fait franchir à l'enseignement un grand pas sur la voie d'une véritable démocratisation. Ceux qui ont peu d'instruction sont beaucoup plus nombreux aujourd'hui à bénéficier d'un enseignement complémentaire.

Notre but est de parvenir en temps voulu à un système d'alternance travail-études durant la plus grande partie de la vie - un système d'éducation récurrente. Pour que cet espoir se traduise dans les faits, des réformes sont nécessaires en permanence.

V

EDUCATION AND DISADVANTAGED ADULTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, 1970-1979

by Brian Groombridge

INTRODUCTION: DISCREPANCIES

Concern for the most conspicuously disadvantaged members of the community has been an important emphasis in British social policy during the 1970s. Despite the material transformation of living standards through the 1960s, the benefits are most unevenly enjoyed: a sixth of all children still live in homes officially listed as overcrowded; infantile mortality is much higher in social classes IV and V than in I and II, and the gap is not closing; poverty has persisted to an extent which cannot be fully explained by the relativity of the very indicators used to measure it. In a famous speech in 1972, Sir Keith Joseph, then Secretary of State for Social Services, articulated much of this concern: "Why is it that, in spite of long periods of full employment and relative prosperity and the improvement in community services since the second world war, deprivation and problems of maladjustment so conspicuously persist?" (1) Other ministers, regardless of party, have expressed a similar sense of communal responsibility for moderating this and other forms of disadvantage.

The decade has seen a spate of reforming legislation, and provision for adult education has been increasingly seen as relevant either to remedying inequalities or to helping people cope with them, in a variety of ways and contexts. The problem has been to find the resources which could begin to do justice to more enlightened attitudes and heightened expectations, at the very time when Britain, along with other OECD countries, became less confident of its economic destiny and the ranks of the disadvantaged were joined in their millions by the victims of structural unemployment.

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1) The Times, 16th November 1972, p.3. In this speech, Sir Keith suggested the possible operation of a cyclical process, such that problems were transmitted from one generation to the next. An impressive review of the immense research literature bearing on that suggestion was published in 1976, by M. Rutter and N. Madge, Cycles of Disadvantage: A Review of Research, Heinemann, 1976.

This account of the situation in Britain begins with some examples of recent legislative and official concern with various forms of disadvantage; considers the education system as itself a source of disadvantage and as a base from which to launch measures against disadvantage; and describes various attempts to realise some of this generalised goodwill in practice.

DEPRIVATION AND DISADVANTAGE: OFFICIAL ATTITUDES

There has been no single focus in British relating adult education to disadvantage, but the "Russell Report" (though limited to England and Wales) makes an appropriate starting point for consideration of British policy and provision as a whole.(1) The Report of the Committee of Enquiry, chaired by Sir Lionel Russell, Adult Education: A Plan for Development, was published in 1973. Education for disadvantaged adults within a reformed system of adult education was one of its main themes and, in subsequent practice, one of its most influential.

The Report took "the test of disadvantage ... to be the extent to which ... integration into active society is prevented". It thought that the factors creating such disadvantages were "found to be mainly in three areas":

> personal capacity (which includes both physical and mental conditions), social disadvantage (which includes geographical isolation as well as poverty or social deprivation) and educational disadvantage (which might mean, not only a lack of basic education or literacy, but also such things as imperfect language in the born-deaf and isolation from the messages of the standard educational agencies through ignorance or rejection of the imagery and vocabulary they use).(2)

The Committee further saw that "these factors interact":

> while physically handicapped or sub-normal or mentally ill people will be found in all classes of the population, they are likely to appear in greater proportions among the socially deprived. Different types of disadvantage tend to accumulate: illness may interrupt schooling and so

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1) It needs to be remembered passim that although developments are similar throughout the United Kingdom, Scotland is a separate legislative and administrative entity.

2) Adult Education: A Plan for Development (The Russell Report), HMSO, London, 1973. (See also the specially commissioned study for this committee by P. Clyne, The Disadvantaged Adult: Educational and Social Needs of Minority Groups. Longmans, 1972.)

limit occupational opportunity and lead to low earnings, irrespective of the individual's intellectual endowment; but also a mental handicap can produce the same sequence. What is needed is to renew the educational opportunity in terms applicable to the state of disadvantage.(1)

The Report uttered a warning against over-simplification:

Blanket terms like "the disadvantaged" or "the handicapped" carry an implication that these are undifferentiated masses whose needs, when once identified, will be alike. But in educational terms one cannot speak even of the physically handicapped or the mentally handicapped as single categories: the needs and potentialities of paraplegics and the blind are quite dissimilar, and the range of mental handicap presents a corresponding range of educational challenges.(2)

The ambiguity of "disadvantaged" is matched by the imprecision of "adult education". Adult education is not so much a sector of the education system: it is rather a complex of agencies, public and private, statutory and voluntary, some of which were created to provide a service of adult education, while others educate adults as an aspect of pursuing other objectives.

There are two other ways in which the terms come together. In all OECD countries, it is increasingly realised that if it is no longer possible to educate someone for life during the few years that he is having compulsory schooling, then to be deprived of adult education becomes in itself a form of disadvantage. Moreover, in Britain, as elsewhere, to be an adult may also in itself be considered a disadvantage, in that younger members of the population have benefited from a series of reforms affecting the content, manner and length of schooling, and from vastly improved access to further and higher education. "Disadvantage" is therefore not solely a condition of minorities: paradoxically, it may characterise the bulk of the adult population as well.(3)

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1) The Russell Report, op.cit., p. 93.

2) Ibid., p. 92.

3) To say the young have benefited from reforms to secondary and higher education is, these days, to beg a question. Many people, not necessarily de-schoolers, regard the raising of the school leaving age as a mixed blessing and reforms are obviously likely to be achieved unevenly throughout a system. It would be widely accepted, however, that experience of school is for many people better than it once was (they learn more, more humanely, with more marketable qualifications than previous generations) and the experience of higher education is possible for many for the first time. In any case, there is a high correlation between length of full-time contact with the educational system, and subsequent life chances, in terms of occupational choice, work satisfaction, quality of housing, health and other important variables.

It is evident that for purposes of clear analysis, sound administration and, as a result of both, effective education, the broad term "disadvantaged" has to be broken down as the Russell Report pointed out. The Russell Report itself isolates three relevant factors as a starting point - personal capacity; social disadvantage; and educational disadvantage (see p.140 above). Only where such forms of disadvantage have become the subject of legislation, or at least of official enquiry, does a foundation of definitions and differentiations exist.

Since the late 1960s, official or semi-official reports and enquiries, not all of them leading to legislation or necessarily to official action, have included the following:

1970: Adult Education: Adequacy of Provision. National Institute of Adult Education (originally published in, and as a special issue of, Adult Education, March 1970).

1972-75: Educational Priority: reports of a research project (ed. A.H. Halsey), and four complementary volumes, HMSO, London.

1973: Adult Education: A Plan for Development (the Russell Report), HMSO, London.

1975: Adult Education: The Challenge of Change (the Alexander Report), HMSO, London.

1978: Special Educational Needs (the Warnock Report), HMSO, London.

1978: The Libraries Choice (Department of Education and Science Library Information Series, No. 19), HMSO, London.

There have also been numerous reports from pressure groups and charitable organisations.

In the same period, there has been an abundance of legislation. Relevant Acts of Parliament include the following:

1969: Local Government Grants (Social Needs Act);

1970: Local Authority Social Services Act;

1970: The Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act (1972 in Scotland);

1970: The Education (Handicapped Children) Act; (1974 "mentally handicapped" in Scotland);

1970: The Equal Pay Act;

1973: Employment and Training Act;

1975: The Sex Discrimination Act;

1975: The Employment Protection Act;

1976: The Race Relations Act.

Where this concern has become embodied in legislation, much of its content means, first, that it is now officially recognised in Britain that remedying various widespread forms of disadvantage cannot be left to voluntary or charitable effort, or to the operation of

market forces: it has become the concern of the state. It means, also, that there is a growing recognition that the state must try to deal not only with manifest symptoms, but with less obvious ones; and that it must attempt to promote remedies by dealing not only with symptoms but also with causes, so far as these may be discerned and understood.

Commitment by central and local government implies a need for greater inter-departmental co-operation and co-ordination, a need that is more easily recognised than met. However, recognition is the essential first step. Hence, whatever the difficulties, and they are many, the Departments of Education and of Employment should co-operate over measures to alleviate the effects of long-term structural unemployment on young adults. A White Paper on the problems of Inner Cities published at the behest of the Department of the Environment,(1) needed to be featured in the 1977 Annual Report of the Department of Education and Science: "The social and economic difficulties faced by the population living in these urban areas were accompanied by educational disadvantage suffered by children and adults ..." "Amelioration" of these "adverse conditions" meant that "The Government's approach ... was one of directing resources where they were most needed in a co-ordinated way, developed collaboratively between central and local government, bringing together the relevant departments at both levels ..."(2)

Two of the Acts listed above led to the establishment of important public bodies with substantial powers to combat disadvantage associated with discriminatory practices and prejudices - the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) and the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE). Neither organisation had appeared out of the blue as a result of decisive legislation. The CRE was in effect a merger of two previous bodies - the Community Relations Commission (intended to promote inter-group understanding and harmony) and the Race Relations Board (supposed to check discriminatory abuse by employers and others). CRC suffered because its terms of reference were too vague; the Board because its powers were too limited.

The establishment of the EOC was itself a victory over prejudice. Its first annual report observes:

> The growing pressure on successive governments was evidenced by an Anti-Discrimination Bill introduced in the House of Commons in each year from 1967-72. The Equal Pay Act, passed

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1) Policy for the Inner Cities. Department of the Environment (Cmnd 6845), HMSO, London, 1977.

2) Department of Education and Science. Annual Report, 1977. HMSO, London, 1978, p. 45, para. 5.20.

in 1970, was the first major legislation of recent times to promote equality between men and women.(1)

It will have been noted that despite the British tradition of pragmatism, it is seen now to have its weaknesses - hence the word "coherent" appears increasingly in government writing as a term of approval, while "piecemeal" and "ad hoc" have become correspondingly pejorative. The language of the CRE's first annual report is characteristic of this approach. It stresses the need for "a co-ordinated policy over a large field involving many government departments, local authorities, the existing and future statutory bodies concerned ... and many individuals in positions of responsibility or influence .."(2)

These annual report sentiments are more easily expressed in words than realised in practice, but one beneficial result of this more co-ordinated approach is that experience gained in one sector can be of value in another. According to the EOC:

> The Sex Discrimination Bill ... built upon the experience of administering previous anti-discrimination legislation in the field of race relations.(3)

That progress can be made is suggested by the experience of the Prison Service. Prisons, it must be admitted, are deliberately designed to subject people to specific forms of disadvantage, but over the years one relevant disadvantage endured by prisoners - enforced lack of access to educational opportunity - has been much reduced. This results from a partnership between the Prison Service and the local education authorities. It seems to work satisfactorily:

> Education for those in custody, whether remedial, academic, social, cultural or recreational, is by statute provided by local education authorities at the invitation and expense of the Prison Department - an arrangement which has called for increasingly close co-operation and liaison at national and regional levels with LEAs collectively, with the Department of Education and Science, with voluntary bodies and with teachers' organisations ...(4)

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1) Equal Opportunities Commission. The First Annual Report of the Equal Opportunities Commission, 1976. (This report was published as House of Commons paper no. 324, session 1975-76. HMSO, London, 1977.) pp. 1-2, Introduction, para. 4.

2) Commission for Racial Equality. First Report of the Commission for Racial Equality (June 1977-December 1977). (This report was published as House of Commons paper no. 529, session 1977-78. HMSO, London, 1978.) p.2.

3) EOC, The First Annual Report of the Equal Opportunities Commission, op.cit., p. 2.

4) Prison Department. Prisons and the Prisoner: The Work of the Prison Service in England and Wales. HMSO, London, 1977. p.37, para. 51.

The harmony of this partnership may be due to the clarity with which the respective roles and responsibilities of the partners are distinguished, and by a financial arrangement which ensures that no one department can be suspected of being parasitic upon another.

A different kind of contiguity stems from the extent to which the state is itself an employer, whose institutions perform many functions which are subject to legislation designed to reduce or remove disadvantage. Educational buildings have to be built or adapted to conform with the requirements prescribed for all public buildings by the Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act; the Department of Education may be pursued under the Race Relations Act, or brought to book by the Equal Opportunities Commission. The DES reports:

> The Race Relations Act 1976 ... defined unlawful discrimination in the public and private sectors of education and imposed for the first time a general duty upon local education authorities and other bodies in the public sector of education to provide facilities for education without racial discrimination.(1)

The EOC's published list of priorities relates to matters of employment, goods, facilities and services. It also includes five broad educational headings:

> The needs of the 16-19 age group;
> Education and training provisions for women re-entering work;
> The secondary curriculum, single sex and co-education;
> Adult and higher education;
> Initial and in-service training of teachers.

The EOC has, consequently, begun to pursue the first of these matters with the DES, the Department of Employment, the Manpower Services Commission and the Training Services Agency. It has also made representations because of its "concern about the total number of girls in further and higher education, their disproportionate concentration in a few areas of employment, and the content of the training made available to them".(2)

Seeing situations whole is a virtue if it leads to co-operation across departmental boundaries. It can be a weakness if the difficulties involved in solving a skein of problems become an excuse for doing little or nothing. There is, fortunately, a good deal of moral

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1) Department of Education and Science. Annual Report, 1977. HMSO, London, 1978. p.47, para. 5.25.

2) Equal Opportunities Commission. The First Annual Report of the Equal Opportunities Commission, 1976, op.cit., p. 8, Chapter 2, para. 4.

impatience in many of the responsible personnel which is one of the main dynamic influences at work.

A similar drive for effective action, in prose firmer and more confident than is customary in official reports, is expressed in a document on racial inequality, prepared by the Community Relations Commission, shortly before it became part of the new Commission for Racial Equality:

> The White Paper on Racial Discrimination says: "The problems of disadvantage can be seen to occur typically in the context of an urban problem whose nature is only imperfectly understood." While the solutions to the problem of urban deprivation are elusive, the same does not necessarily follow for racial disadvantage.(1)

No truck with any paralysing holism there.

This review of legislation (not always or not yet matched by official action) in a few illustrative areas of disadvantage has stressed two main aspects: a strong commitment in principle by the state; and an emphasis on the need to perform more than cosmetic service. This mood is well expressed by the Equal Opportunities Commission, in its first report:

> Previous attempts to deal with discrimination by the use of the law had relied upon complaints of alleged unlawful acts from individuals. This procedure assumed that those who were most in need of protection of the law were aware of their rights under it and sufficiently confident and determined to avail themselves of it. Parliament however recognised that ignorance of legal rights and remedies is particularly acute amongst just those individuals who most stand in need of them .. (Hence) Parliament conferred upon this Commission the power to initiate formal investigations into discriminatory situations and practices on its own initiative ..(2)

The report also describes another "significant innovation" - "the introduction of the concept of 'indirect discrimination'", similar to the race relations concept of "inadvertent discrimination" (as for example, when an educational authority might produce inequity by treating people unequally situated with strict equality):

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1) Community Relations Commission. Urban Deprivation, Racial Inequality and Social Policy. HMSO, London, 1977, p.79.

2) Equal Opportunities Commission. The First Annual Report of the Equal Opportunities Commission, 1976. op.cit., p.3.

> Here again the law was extended to recognise an important social reality: the fact that as a result of previous discrimination or lack of adequate opportunity, provision or encouragement, one group of persons may, to their detriment, be unable to meet a requirement or condition which is not explicitly discriminatory ... This is a powerful innovation.(1)

These legal innovations may lead this strong social movement into deep judicial water. The Economist reports that Lord Denning, Master of the Rolls, has revealed a weakness in the legislation:

> A Mrs. Nasse had sued the Science Research Council for not promoting her, claiming that this was because of her sex. Mr. Vyas, an Asian, had sued Leyland Cars for refusing him a transfer, claiming that this was because of his race. The Science Research Council and Leyland Cars appealed against being compelled to produce documents relating to the other applicants for promotion and transfer.
>
> Lord Denning allowed the appeal. He said that the investigative powers of statutory commissions were already such that one might be back in the days of the Inquisition. The victim of discrimination is entitled to fairness, but public services and industrial corporations should not be forced into breaches of faith with other people by revealing all sorts of confidential documents about them ...
>
> Lord Denning ruled that industrial tribunals, who deal with such cases, should not order disclosure. The Commission for Racial Equality and the Equal Opportunities Commission have decided to apply for permission to appeal to the House of Lords. The EOC estimates that of 261 sex discrimination cases which went before industrial tribunals last year, 100 would be affected by Lord Denning's decision.(2)

These official acts and gestures can be educative in themselves. Their influence is such that behaviour is changed. A building adapted to allow paraplegics equality of access helps educate the entire community in its responsibilities to physically handicapped persons in its midst. Legislation against discriminatory practices, by constraining behaviour, may gradually influence attitudes towards what is normal and desirable in these matters. This is the educative

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1) Equal Opportunities Commission, op.cit., pp. 3-4.

2) The Economist, 5th August 1978, p. 20 ("Two Bills Made Unworkable?").

background against which to describe the overt educational response to various manifestations of disadvantage in Britain. That overt response is, however, profoundly conditioned by the peculiar characteristics of the British education system. Moreover, some of the disadvantages themselves are due to or are exacerbated by limitations in that system, or by defects in individuals' experience of it.

COMPULSORY AND POST-COMPULSORY EDUCATION

In Britain, compulsory full-time schooling starts at the age of five. It ends at the age of sixteen. Since 1945, successive governments have endeavoured:

1. to make free secondary education available to all (this was ensured by the Education Act of 1944);
2. to make it available for long enough for pupils to receive an adequate grounding (the school-leaving age was raised from fourteen to fifteen in 1947 and again to sixteen in 1973); and
3. to provide it in comprehensive schools (which are gradually displacing the system which involved selection at eleven for a minority who went into grammar schools and the rest who attended "modern" (non-academic) schools.

Secondary education was not legislatively secured for all mentally handicapped children until the 1970 Act. As a result, almost every twenty-year-old adult in the United Kingdom will have had at least eleven years of compulsory education, six or seven in the primary school and five years at the secondary level. Older adults will have had a year or two less secondary education. Many men and women over the age of fifty may have had no secondary education at all or will have had their schooling disrupted by the 1939-45 war.

Official figures show that at the age of sixteen, pupils may have secured one of two sets of qualifications: either the Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE) or the Ordinary Level of the General Certificate of Education (GCE O Level), in a wide range of possible subjects.(1) At sixteen, a higher proportion of young people have acquired qualifications than at any time in the past. It is still the case, however, that more than 15 per cent leave school with no qualifications at all.(2)

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1) Education Statistics for the United Kingdom, 1975. HMSO, London, 1977. Table 14.

2) DES library statistic in a letter to the author.

Compulsory education completed, there is then a range of options: to stay on at school or go to a Further Education College for an additional two or three years to take the GCE at advanced level; to move into the Further Education System for a variety of vocational courses, either on a part-time day release, full-time or "sandwich" basis, including those validated by the recently established Business Education Council (BEC) or the Technician Education Council (TEC), as well as those validated by such traditional Further Education examining bodies as the City and Guilds (C & G) or the Royal Society of Arts (RSA); to leave school and take a job, perhaps with an apprenticeship or including some industrial training scheme, which may well include attendance at college on a part-time basis; to leave school and become unemployed, perhaps eventually obtaining a place on one of the new government sponsored "special programmes". It is a matter of widespread concern that a large proportion of the population have no further contact with the education system once they have left school - and this is particularly true as far as girls are concerned.

The right to vote may be exercised at the age of 18. So, at 18, students are officially recognised as adults. The options available are for those with A levels or equivalent qualifications to enter a university, polytechnic or institute of higher education to read for a degree or diploma, usually full-time but occasionally on sandwich basis, or to obtain a professional qualification (many professional institutions do not award the student professional status until he has obtained an acceptable qualification and then gained some sort of industrial or commercial experience in a post of responsibility); to continue studying for the range of vocational and commercial courses that were mentioned in the preceding paragraph at a level below degree or diploma standard in order to gain acceptable technician or craft qualifications; to take a job which requires no further training. For many the alternative is likely to be unemployment.

The Government makes public funds available for universities through an independent University Grants Committee, controlled by the universities themselves, that decides on the distribution of grant to all but one of the individual universities. The sole exception is the Open University which receives its funds direct from the Department of Education and Science. The specialist adult education departments of the universities (often referred to collectively as "Extra-Mural Departments") and the Districts of the Workers Educational Association also receive grants direct from the DES. (Because of the responsibility they accept for the use of funds, they are officially known as "Responsible Bodies".) Other forms of higher education (polytechnics, colleges of higher education and others), as all lower levels of Further Education, are administered and financed by the local education authorities out of local rates and allocations of national taxes, made to them by the central government, although elements of this system

are under review. Vocational education and training are provided by central government (through the Department of Employment and in other ways); by different industries themselves (many of which are served by Industrial Training Boards), or by individual enterprises, but often by arrangements with and in colleges run by local education authorities. There is also a substantial private and commercial sector (language schools, motoring instruction, office skills, management education, correspondence courses leading to professional qualifications and other activities, some officially regulated, but all sustained by the market).

A full account of the education of adults must include public provision of structured learning opportunities by departments not primarily concerned with education or employment. Disadvantaged adults are the particular concern of different personal service agencies. These have developed a range of responses variously described as instruction; or training; or social, industrial and occupational therapy. An examination of both statements of purpose and of practices reveals considerable areas of common ground with the actions and claims of self-identifying adult educators.

Social Service Departments of local authorities employ full-time staff to provide instruction, often in the areas of arts and crafts for the physically handicapped and elderly and instructors develop language skills with blind, partially sighted, hard of hearing and deaf adults. In addition, these Departments administer over 400 Adult Training Centres in England and Wales, employing nearly 3,000 full-time staff and providing full-time instruction for mentally handicapped adults. The Area Health Authorities similarly employ instructors and therapists and in some instances full-time Education Officers, to provide similar services for patients in long-stay hospitals.

Full-time students at universities and elsewhere receive grants related to their parents' income, and local education authorities must provide these so-called "mandatory awards". Grants for part-time study, even for a degree course at the Open University, are "discretionary", i.e. local authorities are not bound to award them. By definition, each of the 124 local education authorities may decide its own policy in relation to "discretionary" awards and the Open University is one of many institutions concerned by the increasing reluctance of authorities to support mature students. The Open University seems much less open than it was conceived as being as more students are expected to bear their own tuition costs. Part-time adult students customarily pay for their courses, but whereas fees used to be a token of serious intent, little more than a registration fee, they now, in many places, constitute a major element in the

financing of adult education courses.(1) Mature students attending courses promoted or approved by the Department of Employment (for example under the Training Opportunities Scheme), albeit provided by LEA establishments, may, however, be paid a substantial subsistence wage while studying, adjusted to take account of their family responsibilities. The proliferation of courses, with a diversity of tariffs and of grant arrangements, partly stimulated by growing structural unemployment, has led to a degree of confusion, and to gross inequities as between students. These anomalies have emphasized the need for what Mrs. Shirley Williams, when Secretary of State for Education, described as a more coherent, student-centred system of post-compulsory education.(2)

"Adult education" so-called, tends to be that set of providing agencies which recruits students from those who have lived long enough to have acquired substantial adult experience and responsibilties, usually after a period of some years since leaving school. The students usually enrol part-time in one or more courses and these may last for anything from one day or a weekend up to three years. Areas of study may be academic, practical, recreational, artistic or physical. The courses may lead to qualifications, but most often do not.(3)

Opportunities in this area of provision are offered by a number of agencies. The LEAs are the biggest providers, though it is clearly in the adult sector that variations between one authority and another are most noticeable. Some LEAs run adult centres with full-time staff, open in the day as well as in the evening, offering an extensive programme of work to part-time students. Others perpetuate the "evening institute" or even "night school" image and merely open a few classrooms to adults in their schools once the day's proper work is over. Community colleges, further education colleges, polytechnics and institutes of higher education are assuming extra-mural responsibilities and offering part-time classes to which the old labels "vocational" and "non-vocational" no longer apply. This work both complements and is a challenge to the traditional extra-mural work of the universities and the Workers' Educational Association, for which British adult education has been well-known abroad.

Many other organisations - Trade Unions, for instance, and women's organisations such as the Women's Institutes and the Townswoman's Guilds - also promote educational programmes often in conjunction with LEAs. There are, of course, a multiplicity of voluntary agencies promoting their special interests on a membership or club basis.

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1) Graham Mee and Harold Wiltshire. Structure and Performance in Adult Education, Longman, 1978, Chapter 10, pp.98-104.

2) The Times, 1st December 1977, p. 2.

3) The principal agencies are described in Yearbooks of the National Institute of Adult Education.

Independent adult learners can also take advantage of the educational output of radio (free) and television (free except for the cost of the licence fee), of libraries (free to use, but contributed to via rates and taxes), books and magazines edited in an educationally structured way (borrowed or bought). In the context of education and disadvantage, the role of the broadcasting organisations is particularly important (see below page 162 et seq).

In assessing the capacity of adult education to respond to the needs of disadvantaged people, it must be remembered

1. that a disposition to turn to any form of provision recognisable as "adult education" is positively correlated with the duration and satisfactoriness of full-time education. The more education people have had, the more they are likely to want. Conversely, people whose educational and social disadvantages are in part attributable to the brevity and poverty of their experience at school, are least likely - spontaneously - to seek out educational remedies for their problems. Special strategies are needed to reverse these strong sociological tendencies;
2. that the sector of educational provision designated "adult education" has itself been impoverished with a concomitant depression of its social status and efficiency.

It must be recognised that the total system of post-compulsory education comprises a traditional element, well-established, immensely prestigious, appropriately financed; and several other elements, historically more recent, relatively lacking in status, and very poorly financed. According to statistics from the Department of Education, the total cost of all further and adult education (other than on-the-job training), including vocational courses and basic adult education, but excluding full-time higher education, was £627 million in 1974-75. That was the cost of provision for more than 4,000,000 adults and young adults. The cost of full-time higher education in the same year was £700 million. That was provided for some 425,000 young adults and a tiny minority of older persons of higher academic ability. So the difference in the cost per student was 10 to one in favour of the higher education student; i.e. say £155 per student per annum in further/adult education, £1,500 per student per annum in higher education.(1)

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1) J. Robinson, "Educational broadcasting and socially deprived groups in the adult community", Adult Education, Vol. 51 no. 5, January 1979, pp. 273-279. The figures quoted are derived from Basic Education Statistics for the United Kingdom, January 1978, a printed card produced by the Department of Education and Science.

PARTICIPANTS, ABSTAINERS AND ABSENTEES

Allan Tough's Canadian research (1) has revealed the extent to which adults undertake serious learning projects without help from professional teachers or formal organisations. Many of those learners are content that it should be so: they have no wish to become students, and in Britain, the voluntary nature of most adult education is stressed, the right of adult citizens to abstain is accepted.

As in other countries, however, a good deal of concern is felt, especially by those professionally engaged in providing adult education, about the preponderant majority of absentees (those who do not take part because they do not know what is available, because what is available either is not right for them or they think it is not, or whose access is blocked by other factors - the scheduling of courses, for example, or geographical remoteness). As elsewhere, the participants and the absentees are far from socially representative, so that whereas all citizens sustain through their taxes at least the public sector contribution to adult education, some classes and segments of the population take more advantage of it than others.(2)

These imbalances in the student population characterise the whole of post-compulsory education. Most education after school is tertiary education, i.e. more or less straight after school, and seen as a continuation of school education. Therefore, most of the adults who take advantage of the opportunities offered are young (between 18 and 23), are unmarried and without dependants and financial responsibilities, and are able to study full-time. Traditionally, higher and even further (technical, vocational) education have largely been disproportionately taken up by the middle classes, with working class families not always able to budget for the extended education of their children, or simply regarding higher education as outside their culture, or again, not being recognised by educational establishments as sufficiently educable. Until very recently, men far outnumbered women both at universities and further education colleges. The Open University is the only university to have men and women students in about equal numbers, the deliberate result of policy and organisation. Again until recently most opportunities for industrial training were only open to men, and were more often provided as preparation for work rather than as in-service or refresher courses. While it is in theory possible to study full-time at any age, in practice the system

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1) A. Tough, The Adults Learning Projects: A Fresh Approach to Theory and Practice in Adult Learning. Toronto, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1971.

2) Adult Education - Adequacy of Provision, op.cit.

is such that the would-be mature student requires more than usual persistence and determination.

As noted, the adult education sector, explicitly so designated, does not redress this balance. Enquiry after enquiry has shown that this sector tends to emphasize differences and widen gaps: its students are mostly not those with the minimum of compulsory education, but those who already have experience of post-compulsory study. There is evidence that the same kinds of people, often the same individuals, also appear again as members of educative clubs and voluntary societies. The one difference is that, for a complex of reasons, social and educational, adult education in the United Kingdom has always attracted a much greater proportion of women students than men.

The rest of this report is concerned with the absentees, or those who would be absentees were it not for appropriate measures being taken, or, indeed, were it often not for the persistence of individuals in overcoming handicaps and obstacles. In addition to those who do not participate in adult education because they are voluntary abstainers, there are broadly two kinds of absentee:

1. People who would have liked, may indeed have desperately wanted, to take part in some form of post-compulsory education, but have been prevented from doing so by circumstance, not choice (this group could be regarded as typically "the disadvantaged", distinguished not so much by rejection of the system as by inability to take part).
2. People who are, as it were, more disadvantaged than "the disadvantaged", who equate education with school and leave as soon as possible - they may be not only educationally deprived, but may also likely to be enduring a multiplicity of difficulties - poverty, unemployment, bad housing, ill-health (this "deprived" group presents an entirely different set of problems, to which education can only be part of the answer).

What follows is a broad outline of what is being done to help different categories of disadvantaged people to gain access to what other citizens have as a matter of course, and to the adult education aspect in relation to various kinds of multiple deprivation.

EDUCATION AND DISADVANTAGE

Despite its considerable vagueness, the term "disadvantaged" is likely in practice to be applied to people who are comparatively at a disadvantage because their ability to communicate is impaired or frustrated (for example, through mental handicap and some forms of

physical handicap, through impoverished literacy skills or through not having English as a mother tongue); or because of their working circumstances (they may not have necessary qualifications; their skills may be obsolescent or even obsolete; they may be unemployed or prematurely retired); or again because of their situation within the community (they may have difficulty coping with public officials and welfare organisations, they may be physically or geographically isolated, or they may suffer from various forms of economic or social inequality).

For the purposes of this report, the meaning and scope of "education" is conveyed by a plain and simple formulation used by the Prison Service:

> "Education in Prison Department establishments has been described as a tool for a job, an aid to living and a contribution to the quality of life there."(1)

In relation to disadvantaged people, education always has at least one of these five particular objectives:

1. to achieve equality (especially of opportunity);
2. parity (of treatment);
3. adaptability (in coping, for example, with alien or alienating environments and cultures);
4. independence (for instance, in not being dominated by welfare support services);
5. integration with or belonging to society.

A comprehensive survey of the ways in which education in Britain pursues these five main objectives in relation to a plurality of recognised forms of disadvantage would run to undue length. The following paragraphs are highly selective, but they are intended to give a partial picture of the range of practical responses to acknowledged problems, and which, taken together, raise the kind of policy questions briefly outlined in the sixth and concluding section. To what extent have the legislative good intentions been realised in practice? What is the relationship between mainstream provision and special services to disadvantaged groups? What is the relationship between that provision and more general forms of educational innovation (taking the Open University and the literacy campaign as chief exemplars)? Does broadcasting have a particular part to play? Can anything worth doing be done to offset economic disadvantage - such as unemployment or living in a deprived community? What are deprived people doing for themselves? What measures can be taken to benefit physically and mentally handicapped people?

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1) Prison Department. Prisons and the Prisoner: The Work of the Prison Service in England and Wales. HMSO, 1977, p.37, para. 50.

There would be little argument in Britain about the answer to the first of these questions: the extent to which benign legislation has been implemented in reality. Not many agencies have as much experience as The Prison Service. Laws take time to implement; attitudes take time to change. Consequently, there is generally bound to be a gap between intention and achievement. "Adult Education" is still a puzzling concept to many administrators and others so that it is scarcely surprising that practice lags behind precept, and principles themselves are not always firmly enunciated (except in a central document such as the Russell Report). Thus, for example, there is a routine ordinariness about the references to educational provision in the important White Paper on Inner Cities, 1977. It merely envisages the "remodelling and renewal of existing schools" and then says, somewhat cursorily, that central government will continue to encourage "the fuller involvement of schools and colleges in the life of the community, and the fuller use of their buildings and facilities out of hours by local people". The phrase "out of hours" reveals the tenacity of out-dated assumptions. And yet, on the other hand, experienced observers of the British educational scene would undoubtedly discern a measurable growth of educational provision for "the disadvantaged", including disadvantaged adults, and certainly an immense amount of talk about it.

As a result, while it is still true, it is in some places much less true than it was in 1976 when Dr. Alan Little wrote:

> Currently, the adaptation of services to render them appropriate ... is a task left almost entirely to practitioners, such as teachers, social workers, youth workers, etc. ...(1)

In many education authority areas, remembering the wide variations invariably associated with decentralised British administration, it would be more common to find the efforts of keen individual teachers and social workers increasingly reinforced. Some local education authorities are adopting deliberate policies on disadvantage, committing modest resources in the name of those policies, sometimes appointing additional staff including personnel who operate more flexibly than usual. It is still fairly exceptional to find major efforts being made to co-ordinate the work of different educational agencies with each other and with social service departments, but it would be common to find a range of voluntary activities undertaken by or on behalf of people at various kinds of disadvantage. In about thirty localities the work of planning and co-ordination is facilitated by

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1) Community Relations Commission. Urban Deprivation, Racial Inequality and Social Policy. HMSO 1977, pp. v-vi. Foreword, para. 6.

local development councils for adult education, as recommended in the Russell Report.

The growth in educational provision and in official support for the endeavour of zealous individuals, would be more extensive were it not for the constitutional tradition, already mentioned, that in educational matters, British governments provide a framework of legal obligation which allows local authorities, and even individual establishments, their own substantial degree of autonomy in deciding how to interpret and implement the law. The tradition encourages local innovation and initiative, but it also tolerates widescale inertia. The centre can also provide leadership and inspiration (or not). It cannot easily initiate or control developments, or make money directly available for earmarked educational purposes. Consequently, there is a tendency for much of the effort (by no means all, it should be stressed) to take place through other channels - through or in association with self-governing broadcasting organisations which operate uniformly throughout the country; through special national programmes financed by the employment ministry (less hampered even in educational matters, providing they relate to employment, than the education ministry); or through the direct application of national funds, through the Home Office, for example, or the Departments of the Environment or Health to local situations characterised by multiple deprivation. The strength of voluntaryism in Britain is reflected by the extent to which non-official bodies engage in the work to be described, and to which disadvantaged people do things for themselves.

Access to adult education can be improved either by removing obstacles to standard forms of provision or by devising new programmes with the special needs of hitherto excluded groups in mind. The adaptation of educational buildings so that physically handicapped people can negotiate them (required by the Act of 1970) illustrates the former; the training courses in communication for hearing and deaf people run by the Breakthrough Trust (one of several voluntary organisations working with the deaf but unusual in being a self-help group) are a striking example of the latter. In Britain, a good deal of the provision combines these two approaches. As a result, the story of educational innovation overlaps considerably with the story of provision against disadvantage. This overlap is demonstrated by the Open University, the adult literacy campaign, and educational broadcasting.

The Open University

Reference to the Open University in this context may seem unexpected. Although lack of access to higher education is obviously, in one sense of the word, a disadvantage, it is clearly not a disadvantage like being poor and hungry. And yet, on the other hand, the

incidence of educational disadvantage in the population strongly reflects the extent to which people of different ages have had quite different opportunities. As a result, it is relevant to quote the Open University as internationally the most famous example of the overlap between educational innovation and provision against disadvantage.

By its very existence, the Open University has had a major impact, at the level of higher academic education, on the widespread disadvantage of belonging to the wrong generation - simply being too old to have been eligible for the vast extension in the 1960s of higher education opportunities for school leavers. But the methodology of distance teaching which is one of the two chief factors in achieving this degree of access for adult (the other being the abolition of formal entry requirements) has also enabled the "OU", as it is usually called, to have an outstanding record with disabled students.

It might be noted, in passing, that the OU's basic assault on disadvantage is sometimes misconstrued. It is a mistake, for example, to think of the Open University as essentially a continuation of that strong tradition in British adult education dedicated to providing exceptionally bright working men with chances to get to university. The OU has been criticised for its failure so far to make a dramatic contribution to the higher education of the working class. Even on its own terms, this is not a wholly fair accusation but even if it were true, it is based on a misunderstanding. It is a university designed to provide any adult who wishes to experience a university education, even if it was not apparent that they would have the capacity for it while they were at school, and even if they have no previous academic qualifications as evidence for that capacity. Most adults <u>of all classes</u> are disadvantaged in Britain because access to universities was until recently limited to a minute elite proportion of the school leaving population. That is the disadvantage which the OU was originally meant to offset.

As a result, many different segments of the adult population have benefited. The Open University keeps a close and systematic watch on the nature of its student body and has observed with satisfaction that, as noted above, it now includes nearly as many women as men; that far more students had working class origins than in any other British university; and, as part of this general progress, an increasing number of students who are at present in working class occupations.

The Open University offers students the opportunity to work part-time for a degree through a combination of specially printed materials, correspondence courses, radio and television broadcasts, and personal tuition at study centres and summer schools.

From its inception, it was realised that the methods of the Open University would be particularly suitable for disabled students, and indeed the University set out to offer a scheme of admission, so that special facilities could be provided. As at 1978, some 1,300 students who had identified themselves as disabled were registered for a degree at the Open University - more than in all the other British universities and polytechnics put together. The Open University has not only attracted a large number of disabled students, it has also been remarkably successful in retaining them: the drop-out rate is markedly lower than for the general student population. The Open University has a senior counsellor with special responsibility for disabled students. His first task is to identify all students with a disability serious enough to impede some aspect of study. The Counselling Service is geared to identifying special needs and giving practical assistance wherever possible. For instance, the broadcast element presents a problem to deaf students, so transcripts of radio and television material are available on request. Most printed course material has been put on tape and cassette for the visually-handicapped, with tactual diagrams where possible. For severely-disabled housebound students (and not only for them), the Open University is experimenting with teaching by telephone. The telephone conference-call system can replace the study group, and provide an alternative to face-to-face tuition. The University is prepared to make available special equipment, such as tape recorders, typewriters, specialised hearing aids or microscopes. Regulations are kept flexible: late assignments are accepted at times of illness or hospital treatment; summer school requirements are adapted; examinations may be taken at home.

The Open University has demonstrated convincingly that disabled students can study for degrees. It must also be remembered that its teaching-at-a-distance techniques also provide opportunities for other groups of disadvantaged people: those who live in isolated places, for instance, or those whose personal circumstances, perhaps the care of the very young or very old, keep them confined at home, or those whose work prevents them from taking part in educational activities only available at certain hours or on certain days of the week. As the University develops its programme of non-degree continuing education work, other handicapped adults will benefit from it. As other institutions begin to emulate the distance-teaching methods brought to a high level of educational efficiency by the university, so the prospects for disabled students and other students for whom such methods are appropriate will improve still more.

The Russell Report distinguishes first order provision (for disadvantaged people) from second order provision (for those working with or needing to understand particular forms of disadvantage). The OU has designed a non-degree course which exemplified this second order:

"The handicapped person in the community", suitable for people working professionally or voluntarily with handicapped people. The course comprises sixteen study units, organised in four blocks - 1) a handicapped identity; 2) disability and assisted independence; 3) providing supportive services; and 4) facing the future. Students on such a one-off course may need support just as much as undergraduates. For instance, the literature about handicapped people is, as the OU recognises, "vast and diffuse, and scattered throughout various branches of knowledge". Consequently, a librarian (a fully integrated member of the course team) prepared a special handbook called "Using the literature" and intended to help students "acquire the skills needed to locate and select the items which are most suitable for (the) purpose, be they printed materials, audio-visual media, or sources of information and help". Students are told how to use libraries and conduct a literature search, as well as given information about relevant official reports (37 since 1942 are listed); legislation (nine major Acts of Parliament affecting the field of handicap since 1968); and specialist organisations (37 of the most important are given, including such different conditions as mental health, blindness, deafness, spina bifida, epilepsy, muscular dystrophy, autism, Parkinson's disease and spasticity).(1)

The Adult Literacy Campaign

Innovation in the methods and curriculum of adult education, as a result of meeting a particular form of disadvantage, has also been exemplified at the other end of the educational scale from the OU, by the Adult Literacy Campaign. The effectiveness of the Open University owes a good deal to the integration of distance teaching (mediated by correspondence, broadcasting, the telephone) with face-to-face tuition (in study centres, summer schools, and in other settings). The success of the Adult Literacy Campaign has rested on a similar conjunction of media and methods. Both enterprises have had repercussions for adult education as a whole.

Hard evidence about numbers has always been difficult to come by but a commonly accepted estimate is that there are some two million adults in Britain who have serious difficulties with reading, writing and spelling. These figures exclude the mentally handicapped and recent immigrants. The number of people who are functionally illiterate - that is, unable to cope with the reading and writing needed for everyday life in a developed economy - is likely to be much greater.

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1) Sheila Dale, Using the Literature. Open University, 1975. (Prepared for the OU post-experience course p. 583, The Handicapped Person in the Community.)

A study undertaken in 1973 showed that only about 5,000 adults were receiving literacy tuition of any kind: in fact, very little provision for literacy tuition was being made because it was not being asked for. Four years later there were something like 120,000 literacy students.(1)

The problem was peculiarly difficult. A large number of adults were being deprived of educational opportunities. They were ashamed to admit their need for help. They could not be reached through print. Some literacy schemes were already in operation, and the British Association of Settlements had set themselves the task of raising public awareness about literacy and stimulating national initiatives. They were successful. In July 1975, the Ford Foundation granted £75,000 to the project, over a three-year period. This made an essential telephone referral and other support services possible. The BBC "On the Move" programme began in October 1975 with the way already prepared by advance publicity, both nationally and locally, and the launching of the Adult Literacy symbol, a stylised representation of a person reading a newspaper.

By January-February 1976, 55,425 students were receiving tuition, 27,125 individually and 28,250 in groups. By the end of the three-year campaign 125,000 students had been reached, there were teaching facilities for some 70,000 students a year and a continuing force of over 42,000 voluntary tutors assisting a small cadre of professional staff employed by local education authorities. In addition to influencing adult education as a whole, the campaign has had a significant aftermath. It had succeeded in bringing a concealed problem into the open. It had provided tuition for 125,000 people. But these achievements left untouched the bulk of the 2 million adults thought to be at risk. By the end of the campaign, however, the question had changed. As a result, considerable attention is now being paid in Britain to the adult basic education needs of something like four million people who are at a serious educational disadvantage. They want more than technical literacy: they need functional literacy, numeracy and, often, considerable help with life-coping skills. Many of these men and women are also to be found in one or more of the other categories of disadvantaged people. A semi-official analysis of the problem lists them as

- those living in socially deprived communities;
- members of ethnic minorities, including recent immigrants;
- the unemployed;

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1) Adult Literacy in 1977-78: A Remarkable Educational Advance. Report to the Secretary of State for Education and Science by the Adult Literacy Resource Agencies' Management Committee on the third and final years' operation, HMSO, 1978.

- the physically and mentally handicapped;
- special age-groups, such as young single parents, older workers facing redundancy, pre- and post-retirement groups;
- those in penal establishments.

Because adult basic education comprises several language skills, numeracy and coping skills, and because the kinds of people at risk are so various, no single campaign such as that for literacy can be contemplated. "ABE" as it is called is high on the agenda.(1)

BROADCASTING

Broadcasting is an important component in the Open University's system; it was absolutely crucial in the early phases of the literacy campaign. The pursuit through education of equality, parity, adaptability, independence and integration for disadvantaged people in Britain has involved broadcasting to a major degree.

For some years now, both broadcasting organisations in Britain have given considerable attention on radio and television to the needs of disadvantaged groups. Local radio (there are as yet 39 local stations under BBC and commercial auspices in different parts of the country) has increased the scope and variety of provision. Many programmes in the general output influence attitudes in the public at large. Sometimes they may do this fortuitiously, as in the American detective series "Ironside", which, by showing the mastery of the most physically dependent character, might have reduced the amount of condescension endured by men in wheelchairs. Other popular programmes are sometimes used quite deliberately as a vehicle to promote understanding about different forms of disadvantage. The television soap opera "Crossroads" (ATV), for example, has depicted the life and circumstances of a paraplegic and of a man who cannot read or write. A daily serial as in this case can, in fact, show the progress of treatment, cure, or autonomy in informatively realistic detail and in something close to real time. Many documentary programmes provide insight and foster compassion where that is appropriate.

Educational broadcasting has, as a matter of policy, catered significantly for the other two audience categories distinguished by Russell - for people who are themselves disadvantaged, or for those (whether friends, family or social workers, professional and voluntary) who minister to their needs. The commitment of the broadcasting organisations may be illustrated concretely by a selection of the

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1) Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education, A Strategy for the Basic Education of Adults, Leicester, 1979.

series listed in the BBC's Winter 1977-78 catalogue of "programmes and publications for adult and further education". On television, for instance (in addition to the literacy series "Your Move" and "On the Move) - "The Role of the Nurse"; "Signs of Trouble" (a series for "those with a specialist interest in the welfare of young people, e.g. teachers, magistrates, social workers, probation officers and the police ..."); "Other People's Children" ("this two-term series aims to 'entertain, inform and educate' childminders .. and to provide stimulus for discussion and follow-up material for local authority and voluntary training agencies"); Parosi (Neighbours) - "drama-based programmes ... to encourage non-English speaking Asian women to learn English"; "I see what you mean" ("to assist people with partial hearing ... and to help those who come into regular contact with deaf people to communicate more effectively ..."); and Contact (Living with Handicap). Comparable series are transmitted on Independent Television.

The contribution of broadcasting in this area is marked by three features that give it a key role: a) Programmes in general have helped raise levels of consciousness and understanding about many different forms of disadvantage; b) Educational broadcasts in particular have often played a pioneering part, combining curriculum development with in-service training for the caring professions and other relevant groups; c) Broadcasting is frequently a component in an interactive multi-media system which encourages socially more effective use of the educational resources in programmes. There are now so many programmes in which "broadcasters and workers in social agencies find themselves working together on planning programmes, in making them or dealing with the follow-up" that the Volunteer Centre (a national organisation stimulating voluntary activity) has thought it worthwhile to produce a directory of them.(1) In the October 1978 issue of the directory there were 32 series (from television, radio and local radio) under the heading of "Handicapped and Disabled" alone. It is significant that the section headed "Work and Unemployment" includes 48 items. Some of these are simple notice-boards on air providing up to date information about "situations vacant". Others provide advice about how to apply for a job, how to present yourself well at interview. Yet others go still deeper - prompting thought about the role of work in society and personal life, or providing education in setting up small businesses or self-help groups. The multi-media approach is often in evidence again: Westward Television's "Just the Job", for example, consisted of seven television programmes (paid for by Westward) which stimulated thousands

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1) Directory of Social Action Programmes, October 1978. Volunteer Centre, 29 Lower King's Road, Berkhamstead, Herts. 1978. (Revised at intervals).

of young people in the South West of England to telephone a referral number, through which they received an education kit (in popular format, devised by the non-statutory National Extension College) and were put in contact with a counselling service (the support materials and services being financed by the statutory Manpower Services Commission). These relationships are symbolised by the scene in the foyer at Euston Towers. There, in the headquarters of Capital Radio, one of London's two commercial stations, surrounded by pop posters, car stickers and tee-shirts, is a desk manned by the official Employment Services Agency (ESA), helping young people find jobs.

Vocational Education

The presence of the official ESA in such an informal setting serves as a reminder of the point made earlier, that many of the most important educational initiatives have been taken through non-educational channels. Although the Department of Education is concerned with education in preparation for employment, it does not enjoy the flexibility or the command over major funds enjoyed by the Department of Employment itself, especially in relation to the disadvantages precipitated by unemployment.

A good education no longer guarantees employment. Conversely, whilst educational success is not vital to success in employment, it is increasingly regarded as improving an individual's chances of employment. Poor jobs and unemployment can in their turn lead to poor housing, poor health, and thence in turn to another generation of children receiving poor education. There is also a complicating and constantly changing factor in that provision for education and training and the actual jobs available are affected and controlled by a fluctuating national economy. Projects which only five years ago were regarded as training for employment or re-employment in a growth situation now have as their basis redundancy and unemployment. Thus the disadvantaged in economic terms now includes a large number of already educated and skilled personnel in need of redeployment, as well as people who have never been employed at all.

Industrial training, employment transfer and career development of young people and adults especially in a situation of chronic unemployment is largely the responsibility of the Manpower Services Commission. The main activities of the Commission are conducted by three Divisions: Employment Service, Training Services and Special Programmes. Through these activities, the Commission attempts to integrate measures to support industrial and economic development; to help people with special problems in the labour market; to support a national training system; and to develop and improve information systems. One Employment Service Division is concerned with filling vacancies efficiently, and as part of that programme provides special services for disabled people and other groups at a particular dis-

advantage at a time of high unemployment. The aim of the Training Services Division is "to promote the development of an efficient national training system". This implies both "meeting the manpower needs of the economy" and enabling working people "to have training opportunities consistent with their capacities, desires and employment needs in preparation for and throughout their working lives". The Division has to take account of, and help secure co-operation between many other organisations with training responsibilities and ambitions - companies, Industrial Training Boards, professional bodies, trade unions and other bodies. Its own direct training effort is meant to reinforce the training effort of industry, especially through the Training Opportunities Scheme (TOPS). TOPS is intended to help people seeking or changing jobs to acquire skills and to increase the employability. Finally, the Special Programmes Division is charged with two programmes - the Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP) and the Special Temporary Employment Programme (STEP). YOP is about more than stop-gap employment: it is meant to "improve the ability of the individual to respond to employment opportunities" as well as provide "a constructive alternative for those hardest hit by high unemployment". The MSC has decided to give more encouragement to women to go on TOPS courses, and to do more to meet the special needs of ethnic minorities - support for English language courses, for example, where the demand cannot be met by the local authorities, or for courses in inner cities in conjunction with interested voluntary organisations.(1)

Deprived Communities

Many of the most disadvantaged people in Britain live in the inner areas of once prosperous cities which have lost their former economic or commercial or political significance. These citizens, many of them multiply deprived are, evidently, not merely (or perhaps even mainly) the victims of deficiencies in their own upbringing (the so-called "cycle of deprivation"). They are the casualties of major social and technological changes which may have taken a century or more to work themselves out. National resources need to be deployed whenever whole areas and districts are deprived. In Britain, several ministries have made such resources available, and education has been one strand in an inter-departmental strategy.

An important White Paper, presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for the Environment in 1977, which enunciated a

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1) MSC Review and Plan, Manpower Services Commission, 1978. TOPS Review 1978, Manpower Services Commission, Training Services Division, 1978.

Policy for the Inner Cities, opens with words which convey something of the effort:

> This White Paper is the outcome of a major review of inner city policy announced by the Prime Minister on 10th September 1976 ... It draws on the experience of earlier initiatives, including the Urban Programme, and owes a great deal to the studies and experiments of recent years: the Educational Priority Areas, Community Development Projects, Area Management trials, development work on Comprehensive Community Programmes, the studies of London Docklands and above all the three Inner Area Studies ... (10a)

The White Paper was concerned with issues wider than the plight of poor people who are more likely to be unemployed (or, if in work, more likely to earn less) than people elsewhere, just because of where they live, but many of the projects listed were expressly conceived to combat disadvantage. Educational activities as such fall into four broad categories:

- Improved provision, e.g. curriculum reform in schools, extension of nursery or other pre-school facilities.
- Community involvement, especially encouraging parental involvement with schools and with their own children's education.
- Adult education projects, through the WEA, local authority centres and in other standard ways, or through experimental community development projects.
- Community action projects, in which educational support was provided for people actively in pursuit of social change, perhaps involving them in conflict with authority.

All four categories, but especially the last three, are deliberately and by definition relevant to this survey.(1)

A handful of particularly deprived places have tended to be at the receiving end of many gestures of conscience of varying degrees of effectiveness from an otherwise prosperous nation. The result, in the actual localities themselves, has sometimes been confusing, both to the local inhabitants and to observers. As the Russell Report warned: "Single initiatives can come from many sources including voluntary bodies concerned with particular problems and adult education should respond to them. But there is also a great need for co-operation between all the bodies concerned with the well-being of

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1) Department of the Environment, Policies for the Inner Cities, op.cit., p. 30.

the disadvantaged".(1) In that observation, the Russell Report was perhaps in danger of ignoring its earlier warning about the specificity of handicaps, obscured by the blanket term "disadvantaged". But the bleakest parts of the most afflicted cities demonstrate the need for co-operation and co-ordination.

There is an abundance of voluntary action on behalf of, and a growing amount of it by the disadvantaged themselves. The British Association of Settlements, for example, already mentioned for their campaign for adult literacy are voluntary enterprises (although attracting grant for some of their work), founded in the last century in the classical sites of poverty and social deprivation, and now adapted to modern conditions with programmes which blend welfare, education, community development and social action. There are 24 Settlements in Britain. In a Statement of Common Purposes, published in 1973, they declared their aims:

> "To encourage and enable people to move towards the vision of a caring, sharing society; to bring about the maximum involvement of the group, neighbourhood or community in solving the problems that concern them, in participating in the decisions that affect them and in running their own affairs".(2)

Blackfriars Settlement, in an area of London described as "the heartland of urban crisis", exemplifies how these aims have been put into practice. At Blackfriars Settlement, the emphasis is on self-help, education and action. There are a number of projects covering community action, youth work, intermediate treatment, alternative work and family counselling. Use is also made of traditional adult education provision by placing it in the context of community learning, for example, in the "urban survival course". This is a highly concentrated weekly course for a group of families who are directly affected by bad housing, poverty and unemployment. The syllabus covers basic rights, and such practicalities as how to eat cheaply yet healthily, how to avoid expenditure and supplement income, family management, repairs, improvisation and sharing, employment, resource groups and agencies, housing, health and employment. The course ends with a residential week for the whole family at the Blackfriars Chalet camp at the seaside. Emphasis is put not only on material aid and self-help (as through street groups for bulk buying and play groups) but also on enjoyment - the benefits of neighbourliness, tolerance, and good personal relationships.

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1) The Russell Report, op.cit., p. 95.

2) British Association of Settlements. Statement of Common Purposes. (Typewritten sheet, issued in 1973.) British Association of Settlements, 7 Exton Street, London, SE1 8UE.

The Workers' Educational Association (WEA), already mentioned as an important provider of adult education in Britain, is itself a voluntary organisation largely administered by volunteers, organised through districts and branches (which employ university and other tutors). The Russell Committee encouraged the WEA to focus its efforts on four areas of work which the Association had itself identified as "a logical development of the Association's traditional concern for the under-privileged". The first of these priority areas was "Education for the socially and culturally deprived living in urban areas". The relevant paragraph reads:

> "Many other bodies are engaged in such areas - local authorities through community development projects involving housing and social services departments as well as education, the Home Office, universities, and local organisations such as Councils of Social Service, community associations, neighbourhood committes and local action groups. The involvement of the WEA would have to be in a strictly educational role and closely integrated with the work of the other bodies. It would also have to be of an experimental and informal character, requiring new forms of activity and unfamiliar techniques."(1)

The DES has made extra grant available for this work and some WEA districts have been enterprising in exploring "new forms of activity and unfamiliar techniques". Since its earliest days, summer schools have been part of the WEA tradition. However, the annual "Leisure Fiesta Week" at Pontin's Holiday Village, Prestatyn, North Wales, turns the traditional summer school idea upside down. Instead of taking working people to a university for an experience of university life, a comprehensive programme of adult education is provided at a place where working class families go for their holidays. A total of 38 classes were provided in 1976 for 945 families, in a wide variety of subjects and activities.

Voluntary organisations with specific objectives may find themselves achieving more than expected or intended. Much educational disadvantage is thought to stem from inadequate stimulus and care in the nursery years. Consequently, the Plowden Report had asked for a large expansion of nursery education.(2) This has never materialised. However, the Pre-School Play Groups Association which had been founded in 1961 just because governments talked much but did little, used the recommendations of the Plowden Report to promote public interest and

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1) The Russell Report, op.cit., p. 78.

2) Central Advisory Council for Education (England) Children and their Primary Schools (The Plowden Report), 2 vols, HMSO, 1967.

financial support for its work. In 1976 there were 300 voluntary area organisers and 380 local branches. The objectives of the Pre-School Play Groups Association are "to encourage the formation of play groups for children under 5 and the active involvement of parents". Apart from its success in the middle-class areas, the Association has enabled many working-class women to gain self-confidence. It has concerned itself increasingly not only with playgroups for children, but also with the development of parents, especially of mothers, and their relationships with their children and each other.

The same process of growth in self-confidence, leading to a diversification of activities and achievements, is exemplified by the Craigmillar Festival Society. Craigmillar is a depressed quarter of Edinburgh with a great deal of unemployment. It started its own community arts festival in 1963 as a direct local response to the prestigious Edinburgh International Festival. Not only has the Craigmillar Festival taken place annually ever since, like the Edinburgh Festival itself: the Society's activities now include the regular running of playgroups; play schemes; clubs for the mentally handicapped, young people, and the elderly; sports and activities. The Society employs its own neighbourhood workers and promotes an immense amount of non-party but highly participatory political activity, ensuring that the voice of the people is both well-informed and heard locally, regionally, and nationally - even internationally, since the Society has negotiated grant aid from the EEC for some of its work, including the creation of employment opportunities. The experience of Craigmillar, and other places or milieux where people have so transcended the limitations of their circumstances, is an important reminder that condescension must be no part of society's attitude towards those whom it may reasonably regard as under-privileged.(1)

Physical and Mental Handicap

Measures to offset the effects of physical and mental handicap seem to be better understood than those needed to help whole communities which are disadvantaged by poverty and its associated ills. The period when society was ashamed of or embarrassed by physical or mental handicap and literally hid sufferers from public view now seems historically very remote, although it is quite recent. These dark attitudes still exist and affect individuals, but they no longer prevail. In some ways, the reaction has been too emphatic. Handicapped people have found themselves more conspicuous than they wanted to be,

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1) See especially Craigmillar Festival Society, Craigmillar's comprehensive Plan for Action (The gentle giant who shares and cares), Craigmillar Festival Press, 63 Niddrie Mains Terrace, Edinburgh, 1978.

unduly exposed in the name of "integration". A deaf child in a hearing school may be doubly at a disadvantage, and may not learn properly how to become a deaf but well adapted adult.

There are signs that a more balanced and sensitive climate is developing. This is best exemplified by the so-called Warnock Report, the Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Handicapped Children and Young People.(1) The Committee recalled that there was a time - before the Education (Handicapped Children) Act 1970, when some children (and a fortiori some adults) were thought to be so disabled that they were not educable. The Committee endorsed the new legal position that "education is a good to which all children are entitled" (Mrs. Warnock's emphasis in her brief guide to the Report).(2) The Committee went further, however, in advocating the abolition of "statutory categorisation of handicapped pupils" and its replacement by "the concept of special educational need", so that the stress would be placed upon the educational needs of children and young people and not upon the much less sensitive distinctions between their medically derived mental or physical categories.(3)

This more positive approach has implications for education beyond school and in adult life: "For some school leavers, further education will be the key to continued educational development."(4) Consequently, more thought should be given to curricular adaptation and to the devising of policies on the admission of disabled students, as in the impressive work of the Open University, but at many more varied academic levels and for a wider range of educational objectives. The Warnock Committee took their argument a step further by suggesting that "there should be better opportunities for people with disabilities themselves to become teachers ... at present there is a waste not only of talent but also of the particular contribution which teachers with disabilities can make in the field of education as a whole".(5)

This change of attitude could affect many people. In 1971 it was estimated that there were over three million handicapped and impaired adults in Britain and perhaps three million more suffering from long-standing illness which limited their activities.(6) In 1973 the National Children's Bureau published a study on handicapped

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1) Special Educational Needs (The Warnock Report), HMSO, London, 1978.

2) Mary Warnock. Meeting special educational needs: a brief guide .. to the report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Handicapped Children and Young People. HMSO, 1978, p.2. end of first para.

3) Ibid., pp. 2-4.

4) Ibid., p. 9.

5) Ibid., p. 26.

6) Amelia I. Harris, Handicapped and Impaired in Great Britain, 3 vols. HMSO, 1971-72.

school leavers which estimated that one child in every 40 of school age was handicapped in some way and that about 7-8,000 handicapped school leavers from special schools entered the labour market every year.(1)

In practice, conditions vary considerably and standards generally fall a good deal below those now publicly accepted and recommended. Admission of handicapped students into post-compulsory education is often dependent on whether a particular college itself has facilities suitable for the student. The Open University's performance, described above, remains outstanding. The Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act (1970) already mentioned lays upon local authorities a statutory duty to find out the number of disabled and chronically sick people (including the mentally disordered) living in their area and to provide them with any help they need. Information is to be given to the disabled on the services available to them and where necessary assistance is to be given to obtain "recreational facilities outside the home and assistance in taking advantage of educational facilities" and "travelling facilities to enable the person to make use of these facilities". Educational establishments are required to provide "facilities for access, parking and sanitary conveniences suitable for the disabled". As yet, this Act has not been consistently interpreted or vigorously enforced. In any case, negotiation is voluntary and many adults choose not to be registered.

As Warnock recognised, it is not only buildings but also the programme and teaching methods which may need adaptation. Provision for handicapped students in general adult education classes varies considerably according to authority policy and from institution to institution. Some local authorities promulgate a well-devised policy for handicapped students and allocate resources accordingly; in some places they are covered by a brief sentence to the effect:

> "If you are handicapped, let us know your problems and we will try to help you to attend the class of your choice".

Often the needs of such students are ignored.

The situation may be illustrated by specific reference to conditions for blind and deaf students. Some LEAs, sometimes with the Employment Service Agency, provide opportunities for learning Braille and Moon Type, and special training schemes in commerce, secretarial work and piano tuning. Some LEAs (notably Derbyshire, Leeds and Inner London) have also adapted premises and equipment to provide classes for the blind in such subjects as pottery, crafts, woodwork,

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1) Linda Tuckey and others. Handicapped School-leavers: Their Further Education, Training and Employment. NFER, 1973 (a National Children's Bureau report), p. 9.

cookery, dancing and swimming. Many public libraries make available large-print and "talking" books. LEA funded provision tends, in the main, to be limited to the provision of occasional classes of two hours duration, meeting once a week, and staffed by part-time tutors. Alongside such provision has to be set the work of voluntary organisations and the educational role of full-time staff employed by the Social Service Departments. In some instances, occupations therapists or mobility officers for the blind undertake instructional roles, in others staff are specifically employed on a full or part-time basis to provide such instruction.

Only one in four local authorities make specific arrangements for adult education for the deaf. In spite of the efforts of the Royal National Institute for the Deaf and other voluntary organisations, there is no national pattern or framework of education leading from school, through further to adult education and including the various categories of disability (deaf with speech, deaf without speech, hard of hearing, born deaf) and their needs.

The blind and deaf, like people with other handicaps, sometimes still need to be in protected situations, where the regime is likely to include educational programmes. There are, for instance, four residential centres for the rehabilitation of the newly blind and two assessment centres for further education, social adjustment and investigation into the possibilities of employment.

There are also non-residential centres for physically handicapped people of many kinds. Thus, Day Centres for the physically handicapped exist throughout the country and provide a wide range of occupational therapy activities under the direction of craft instructors, discussion groups and lectures. It is gradually being accepted that formal adult education could also be a part of the programme of such centres. In 1973, Hull College of Technology pioneered this idea by providing a range of academic subjects on two days a week at two Day Care Centres. Social Studies, "O" level English Language and Literature, Arts and remedial English have been developed with a group whose ages range from 16-83 and whose physical disabilities include blindness, deafness, speech impediments, spasticity and epilepsy. Exemplary projects are also to be found at the Hereward College, Coventry; the Work Preparation Unit; Worksop; and in S. Wales.

In the same spirit, some local education authorities provide part-time tutors to work in hospitals and residential homes. Subjects taught include numeracy, literacy, singing, crafts, woodwork, homecraft, needlework and dancing. With close co-operation between education staff, medical social workers in the hospitals and the Social Services Department, adult education classes are found to make a considerable contribution towards health and rehabilitation.

Most handicapped people want to work, partly to realise their own potential, and partly to attain some degree of financial independence. In every district there is a Disablement Resettlement Officer, based at Government Job Centres and Employment Offices, to give advice on suitable work and help in finding it, and to encourage employers to offer vacancies to disabled applicants. They liaise with local hospitals and contact patients shortly before discharge who may need advice. They can make arrangements for attendance at an Employment Rehabilitation Centre where rehabilitation and assessment is made preparatory to further training. The Manpower Services Commission is responsible for the Industrial Rehabilitation Unit which assesses future work prospects and give courses of training of 6-12 weeks. The disabled person can then proceed to sheltered work or a further period of training at Skill Centres where the Training Opportunities Scheme (TOPS) offers a number of courses available for the disabled, at colleges of further education and at some places of employment.

Research is increasingly highlighting the educational potential of the severely mentally handicapped and the 1970 Education Act recognised that everyone has the potential to gain from programmes of tuition. Under the provisions of the Act, the former Junior Training Centres become schools for Educationally Subnormal (Severe) Children whilst the primary responsibility for adults remained with the Health and later the Social Service authorities. The local education authorities, whilst being the primary providers of post-school education, have, in the main, played a secondary role, though some make full-time courses available, e.g. Leeds (1) and others provide full-time teaching staff, e.g. Macclesfield,(2) through the further education colleges. The norm, where provision is made by the education authorities, tends to be a limited range of non-vocational courses, held in hospitals and training centres, or occasionally in colleges and adult education centres (3) covering aspects of basic language and number or arts and craft activities. In addition, the colleges of further and higher education also provide courses for staff, primarily as the one year, full-time Diploma in the Teaching of the Mentally Handicapped. Short

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1) L.A. Sanders, "College-based Approach", in R.J. Kedney and E. Whelan (eds), The Education of Mentally Handicapped Young Adults, Bolton College of Education (Tech.), 1977.

2) Mary McAllister, "Further Education for Mentally Handicapped Adults" in P. Mittler and S.G. Griffins (eds), The Educational Needs of Mentally Handicapped Adults, The National Society for Mentally Handicapped Children (North West Region), 1974.

3) Report of the Working Party on Further Education for the Handicapped. Cheshire County Council Education Department, 1978.

courses have also been offered in some areas, as in-service training alongside provision for part-time tutors in adult education.(1)

The major providing agencies are the Adult Training Centres administered by the Social Services Departments of local authorities, employing instructors to work with severely mentally handicapped trainees. Of the estimated population, 70,000 adults, provision is currently made for approximately 25,000 trainees. As a major survey indicates, the majority of the 400 centres are located in accommodation built in the 1960s and 70s and are staffed on a ratio of one member of staff to nine trainees.(2) All courses are full time, based on an extended training year that is the equivalent to the industrial year and places are held for life or until placement elsewhere rather than for periods of pre-determined length. The resource base of specialist centres and the staffing levels and ratios thus contrast markedly with the pattern for non-vocational adult education, and one in line with that of vocational further education, with the distinction, however, of the commitment to open-ended programmes determined by student rather than institutional criteria in terms of duration.

Adult training centres have tended to be built, staffed and equipped to provide basic instruction related to industrial training and work preparation for placement in open employment. In reality with the worsening employment position through the 1960s and 70s the practice has been to develop an increasing emphasis on occupational rather than training activities as movement has been found to be limited. Increasingly of late, however, there has been a growing concern for the development of elements of social and general education at a basic level concerned with the development of coping skills, particularly for young adults coming through from school. It is in these latter areas that Adult Training Centres and educational institutions have tended to share a common interest and look towards the development of new programmes. The concept of partnership between agencies has been explored in some areas based on an exploration of the resources, experience and contexts of complementary institutions, in others establishments operate in parallel whilst in some areas provision is limited to crafts as therapy, crafts as instruction and crafts as adult education.

In this area, as in so many others, provision is patchy. In its formal response to the Warnock Report, the Open University wrote: "The University believes that there has been a serious lack of central leadership in this field and endorses the recent statement of the

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1) R.J. Kedney, An In-Service Course for Instructors from Adult Centres for Mentally Handicapped Adults, Merseyside and District Institute of Adult Education, 1974.

2) E. Whelan and Barbara Speake, Adult Training Centres in England and Wales, National Association of Teachers of the Mentally Handicapped, 1977.

National Bureau for Handicapped Students: 'A national policy on the post-school education and training of handicapped people should be agreed and given full support by the government and the community.'"(1)

The public library is an instrument of informal education and has long played a role in aiding the disadvantaged. Indeed, in its early days it was known as "the poor man's university" for it was born in the nineteenth century intellectual and social ferment in Britain, partly as a response to an ethical demand for educational opportunity even before legislation made access to elementary education compulsory. This traditional commitment was brought into sharper focus by a working party of the Department of Education's Library Advisory Council for England under the chairmanship of Mrs. Anne Corbett. In 1978, this working party produced The Libraries Choice, a report on public library service to the disadvantaged. The practice of progressive public libraries giving services to the hospitalised, the housebound and the handicapped, to those in prison, to those among ethnic minorities, to the illiterate and to those in deprived areas are reviewed, and a call is made for all responsible to increase access to those "who until recently might have been thought to have no place in the library". There is no cause for complacency, the report urges. Caring public library staffs are not enough, co-operation with other agencies is also essential. The report calls for urgency in response to its recommendations since in hard economic times "the public library service becomes more, not less, important". "Transform pioneering into common practice" may be seized as a slogan from the report.(2)

Centre for Information and Advice on Educational Disadvantage

The Centre for Information and Advice on Educational Disadvantage (CED) was established in 1975, as an independent body funded by the Department of Education and Science. Since its foundation, CED has paid most attention to children's needs, but its terms of reference apply to people of all ages, so that the Centre belongs in this survey.

The Centre has been conscious all along of the semantic difficulties of this area of social policy. None of the key words needed to discuss these issues is quite uncontaminated. Just as they carry the risk of being patronising, in practice, it is also important to remember, for example, that it is wrong, a snobbism however well meant, to describe someone who does not belong to the professional middle-class sub-culture as culturally deprived - both groups are in this sense equally and mutually deprived. Someone may be at a social and

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1) The Open University's Reply to the Warnock Committee, Milton Keynes, Open University, 1976.

2) The Libraries Choice, HMSO, 1978 (Department of Education and Science, Library Information Series, no. 19).

educational disadvantage because he does not belong to the culturally dominant group, but that is a different issue. Similarly, it may be important for physically normal people to remember that someone who is deaf or blind, spastic or paraplegic may also be cleverer than average and that the wrong kind of sympathy can be as offensive as callousness.

These attitudes are meant to be implicit in the work and explicit in the guidance of CED, concerned, as it is, with "giving advice on curriculum, teaching methods and good practice, relevant to the education of the disadvantaged". The first director of CED has written:

> "The Centre uses the word 'disadvantage', not 'deprivation', in its title and we think the distinction is important ... (it) is particularly helpful when considering culturally different groups. Such groups are very likely to be educationally disadvantaged because the standard educational provision is not by itself suitable ..."(1)

One of the Centre's criteria has summary value at this stage in this report, because it reveals a factor common to the otherwise extremely diverse forms of disadvantage. It applies equally to people suffering from physical or mental handicap, from poverty or hunger, or remoteness from educational facilities, or in other ways. This is the criterion of under-achievement, which may be represented in two ways:

1. Where at any given point in an individual's development, and increasingly so as he or she grows older, we find a level of achievement that is seriously below the norm for society as a whole ...
2. (Where there exists) a discrepancy ... between apparent potential and performance.(1)

CED exists to advise educational bodies. There are also coming into existence a growing number of agencies to advise adults who wish to study or to undertake learning projects. These agencies, often the result of collaboration between several providing bodies, are attempting to provide various kinds of educational guidance in the form of information, advice on counselling. Some of these services, because of their ethos or their location, are specially concerned to cater for people who are seriously at an educational disadvantage.

This report has described some of the approaches to this range of educational problems posed by reducing the discrepancies to which CED refers - between apparent potential and performance - and some of the programmes being tried in Britain as possible solutions.

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1) Colin Roberts, Deprivation and Disadvantage in Education: Who Are the Educationally Disadvantaged? Centre for Information and Advice on Educational Disability, Manchester, 1977.

SOME CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

An assessment of the British effort and achievement in this domain would have to recognise three positive features: the range and scope of the concept of "disadvantage" and the extent to which a widespread concern has shown itself in legislation; the improved vitality and enterprise of adult education during the 1970s; the considerable degree to which innovation in adult education has been associated with education to offset disadvantage.

Naturally enough, the assessment would also have a negative aspect. The ends have been willed, but not the means, except in certain politically tense sectors such as unemployment. The numbers at risk far outrun the resources available and the numbers actively involved in relevant educational activity. There is a danger of tokenism, of thinking, in the English idiom, that a handful of vivid and well-publicised swallows make a summer; and of sentimentality, of mistaking talk and feeling for substantive action.

It has to be recognised that there is in any case a limit to what education can achieve. People may find themselves severely at a disadvantage through shifts in the world economy or even, in particular localities, through the decision of the largest local employers to change their technologies. When a whole city, such as Liverpool, finds itself losing the main economic raison d'être of its existence, then it will take more than an adult education outreach programme to overcome the suffering caused to thousands of its inhabitants by the region's profound change of role.

It has also to be recognised that the education system itself, despite a series of reforms, still contributes to some forms of educational disadvantage in adults. Although they would not always express themselves so bluntly, many teachers would agree with the verdict of three specialists in Pedagogy, writing in The Times Educational Supplement:

> We still do not know how to educate working-class children effectively. The gap between the social classes in the degree to which they profit from education remains as wide as ever.(1)

Taking these positive and negative features together, the British experience exemplifies several dilemmas. The first dilemma affects the relationship between special and standard provision. Someone who cannot read or write, or who cannot hear, or who cannot get a job, may require something special in the way of provision. But this should not have the effect of exacerbating the social isolation which

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1) Charles Hannam, Pat Smyth, and Norman Stephenson: "Serving out their Time", The Times Educational Supplement, 20.10.78.

may result from the disadvantage. A research monograph on "Adult Education and the Physically Handicapped Person" concluded:

> The special class still serves a purpose in providing for those disabled persons who prefer not to be in an ordinary class. However, the assumption that the disabled need not be offered anything other than special classes is highly questionable. There appeared to be insufficient encouragement to join ordinary classes whenever possible.(1)

This seemed to be due in part to lack of co-ordination between welfare and education departments at the local level.

This lack of integration is made worse if funds for adult education, which may be limited to start with, are then diverted from general provision to special provision for groups at a disadvantage. Competition for public money between general education for adults and the strong claims of the literacy campaign has occurred in many parts of Britain. The last official report on the campaign indicates the irony and the shortsightedness of such competition:

> A matter which has caused us considerable concern has been the extent to which LEAs' funding of adult literacy has been at the expense of already diminished provision for adult education. Some re-orientation of priorities is acceptable and desirable in order to ensure increased provision for those whom the adult education service has hitherto not provided. Nevertheless, it is counter-productive to undermine a service to which many will turn when they have remedied basic educational deficiencies. The evidence of reports from LEAs and voluntary organisations is that many students are seeking more than competency in reading and writing and seek help with numeracy and other "coping with life" skills which reflect their general disadvantage. The basic adult education service which this indicates to be necessary is not an alternative for but a natural concomitant of a continuing education service. One without the other is a negation of the achievements and lessons of the last three years. To achieve a basic education and be denied the opportunity to move on from there is to reintroduce deprivation at a slightly higher level. If LEAs have found it necessary to finance improved literacy provision at the expense of adult education, they are unlikely to develop a broader basic education service for adults without further inroads on

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1) Diana H. Mohr, Research Monograph on Adult Education and the Physically Handicapped Person, Disabled Living Foundation, London, 1977.

the same service unless they can be given specific encouragement to do otherwise.(1)

Governments may, therefore, be unwise to neglect the development of general facilities in the belief that public money is best deployed in making special provision for the most vulnerable members of society, tempting though such a policy may be in combining a humane tone with an economic outlay.

This same report on the literacy campaign, charting as it does "A remarkable educational advance", highlights a peculiarly British dilemma, caused by the extent of local autonomy. There are some clear advantages in local control and administration, those allocating resources being closer to those needing them. But there are major weaknesses, affecting all forms of provision against disadvantage, not merely literacy schemes:

> The difference between one Authority and another in the provision for adult literacy is still very great, even between authorities of like size in area, population and rateable resources. It is difficult to find a reasonable explanation, without a detailed survey, of the allocation for adult literacy by some counties of £70,000 or more, and as little as £5,000 in others; and £80,000 in one metropolitan district and £3,000 in another. One is entitled to assume that such disparities are the result of deliberate policy decisions. The evidence, however, suggests that, although the larger allocations certainly have been the subject of a policy decision by the appropriate committee, this is not always so in authorities where the allocation is small. There is some reason to believe that it results from internal juggling with the further education estimates by hardpressed officers rather than as a result of a considered statement of need in a report to committee.(2)

In a later paragraph, the report concludes:

> We feel that it is incumbent upon us to say that, from the experience of the last three years, the disparity of provision for adult literacy throughout LEAs in England and Wales does not augur well for the development of a general service to adults in the wider context of basic adult education.(3)

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1) Adult Literacy in 1977-78: A Remarkable Educational Advance, op.cit.

2) Ibid., pp. 42-43.

3) Ibid., p. 45.

The British experience cannot just be summarised in dilemmas, however. Despite the friction which sometimes occurs between providing a degree of positive discrimination for disadvantaged adults and the maintenance of general services, the most striking characteristic of the experience over this decade has been the extent to which concern for people grossly categorised as "the disadvantaged" has led to the refreshment and enlivenment of mainstream adult education. The variety of milieux and formats has increased; the range of people who may find themselves involved as tutors or students, is much wider; the work is much less stereotyped in form, much less limited as a socio-cultural phenomenon. The competence of the different agencies through which adults at a disadvantage may use educational means to offset that impairment, whatever its form, has increased remarkably. What is needed now are the resources to enable far more of the people concerned to take advantage of these advances.

L'ENSEIGNEMENT ET LES ADULTES DEFAVORISES AU ROYAUME-UNI ENTRE 1970 ET 1979

RESUME

Rien n'a été fait au Royaume-Uni pour établir une relation univoque entre l'éducation des adultes et la pauvreté, mais le Rapport Russell (bien qu'il se limite à l'Angleterre et au Pays de Galles) peut servir de point de départ à un examen de l'ensemble des mesures adoptées et mises en oeuvre au Royaume-Uni. Le Rapport de la Commission d'enquête présidée par Sir Lionel Russell, et intitulé Adult Education : a Plan for Development, a été publié en 1973. L'enseignement dispensé aux adultes défavorisés dans le cadre d'un système d'éducation des adultes modifié par la réforme était l'un de ses thèmes principaux et l'un de ceux où son influence s'est fait particulièrement sentir dans la pratique.

D'après le rapport, "pour vérifier l'existence d'un handicap ... il suffit de savoir dans quelle mesure il freine l'insertion dans la société active /de celui qui en est atteint/". Les facteurs qui sont à l'origine de ces handicaps "sont essentiellement de trois ordres" :

> les capacités personnelles (qui comprennent l'état physique et mental), le dénuement social (y compris l'isolement géographique, mais aussi la pauvreté ou le handicap social) et la carence culturelle (ce qui peut vouloir dire aussi bien le manque de toute instruction de base ou l'analphabétisme, les imperfections de la parole chez les sourds de naissance, et la non-réception du message transmis par les établissements chargés de l'enseignement normal par suite de l'ignorance ou du rejet des images ou du vocabulaire qu'ils utilisent).

La Commission a également constaté qu'il existe une "interaction entre ces facteurs" :

> "S'il y a dans toutes les classes de la population des handicapés physiques, des individus dont le niveau intellectuel est inférieur à la normale, ou des malades mentaux, ils sont en général plus nombreux parmi les plus défavorisés. Plusieurs types de handicaps risquent de se cumuler. La maladie peut interrompre la scolarité et donc limiter les possibilités

d'emploi, ce qui se traduira par la modicité des gains, quelles que soient les capacités intellectuelles de l'individu; mais un handicap mental peut produire le même enchaînement. Il faudrait réformer les possibilités d'études afin qu'elles s'appliquent à ceux qui souffrent de handicaps."

Le Rapport contient une mise en garde contre toute simplification excessive :

> Les appellations générales telles que "les défavorisés" ou "les handicapés" laissent entendre qu'il s'agit de masses non différenciées dont les besoins, une fois identifiés, seront les mêmes. Mais lorsqu'il s'agit d'enseignement, il n'est pas possible de parler même de handicapés physiques ou mentaux comme s'ils constituaient une seule catégorie; en effet, les exigences et les virtualités des paraplégiques et des aveugles sont très différentes, et à l'éventail des handicaps mentaux correspond une gamme tout aussi étendue de solutions pédagogiques.

Il est évident qu'une analyse précise, une administration cohérente et l'enseignement efficace qui en résulte exigent que le terme général de "défavorisés" soit ventilé comme le préconise le Rapport Russell. Ce rapport définit d'ailleurs trois éléments qui peuvent servir de point de départ à une classification; ce sont les capacités personnelles, le handicap social et le handicap culturel. C'est seulement quand ces formes de handicap ont donné lieu à des lois, ou tout au moins à des enquêtes officielles, qu'elles peuvent servir à formuler une définition ou à établir une différence. Depuis la fin des années 60, un certain nombre de thèmes ont fait l'objet des enquêtes et des rapports officiels ou semi-officiels, sans pour autant déboucher nécessairement sur une action des pouvoirs publics.

Lorsque l'on cherche à savoir dans quelle mesure l'éducation des adultes répond aux besoins des plus défavorisés, il faut rappeler:

1) qu'il existe une corrélation positive entre le désir de recourir à "l'éducation des adultes", sous quelque forme que ce soit, et la formation initiale à temps complet, sa durée et la satisfaction que l'on en a retirée. Plus l'individu a fait d'études, plus il a, en général, envie d'en faire. Au contraire, il y a moins de chances de voir ceux dont les handicaps sociaux et culturels sont imputables en partie à la brièveté et à l'insuffisance de leur scolarité chercher spontanément dans les études le remède à leurs problèmes. Il faut donc trouver des stratégies spéciales pour renverser des tendances sociologiques solidement établies;

2) que le secteur de l'enseignement qui répond à l'appellation d'"éducation des adultes" a lui-même été appauvri par une diminution de son prestige social et de son efficacité.

Il faut reconnaître que l'ensemble de l'enseignement post-obligatoire comprend d'une part, un élément traditionnel, solidement implanté, qui bénéficie d'une réputation prestigieuse et d'un financement suffisant, et de l'autre, plusieurs prestations de création plus récente, moins bien cotées et très mal financées. D'après les statistiques du ministère de l'Education, le coût de la totalité de l'enseignement complémentaire et de l'éducation des adultes (à l'exclusion de la formation sur le lieu de travail), y compris la formation professionnelle et l'enseignement de base destiné aux adultes, mais sans compter l'enseignement supérieur à plein temps, s'est élevé à 627 millions de livres en 1974-75. Cette somme représente le coût de l'enseignement dispensé à plus de 4 millions d'adultes de tous âges. Pendant cette même année, le coût de l'enseignement supérieur à temps complet dispensé à quelque 425.000 jeunes adultes et à une minorité infime de personnes plus âgées ayant un niveau d'instruction très élevé s'est élevé à 700 millions de livres. La différence de coût par étudiant était donc de 10 contre un en faveur de l'enseignement supérieur, soit par exemple 155 livres par étudiant et par an dans l'enseignement complémentaire et l'éducation des adultes pour 1.500 livres par étudiant et par an dans l'enseignement supérieur. (Les chiffres cités sont extraits de Basic Education Statistics for the United Kingdom, Department of Education and Science, janvier 1978.)

Outre ceux qui s'abstiennent volontairement de suivre les cours, les non-participants appartiennent grosso modo à deux catégories :

1) Ceux qui auraient aimé, qui auraient peut-être ardemment désiré, poursuivre leurs études sous une forme ou une autre, mais en ont été empêchés par des circonstances indépendantes de leur volonté (on pourrait dire que cette catégorie est caractéristique des "défavorisés", car elle se distingue, non par son refus du système, mais par l'impossibilité où elle se trouve d'y accéder);
2) Ceux qui sont en quelque sorte plus défavorisés que les "défavorisés", pour qui l'enseignement est synonyme d'école et qui en sortent dès qu'ils le peuvent. Ils sont non seulement en état de "manque culturel", mais souvent en proie à une multitude de difficultés - la misère, le chômage, l'insuffisance des logements, la maladie (cette catégorie de "laissés pour compte" présente un ensemble de problèmes entièrement différents auxquels l'enseignement n'offre qu'une solution partielle).

Bien que l'appellation de "défavorisés" soit extrêmement imprécise, elle s'applique en général dans la pratique à des individus qui sont relativement désavantagés parce qu'ils sont incapables ou empêchés de communiquer (par exemple, parce qu'ils présentent un handicap mental ou certaines formes d'infirmités physiques, parce qu'ils ont du mal à lire et à écrire, ou parce que l'anglais n'est pas leur langue maternelle), ou pour des raisons d'ordre professionnel (ils n'ont pas toujours les qualifications nécessaires, leurs compétences sont insuffisantes ou carrément dépassées, ils peuvent être en chômage ou obligés de prendre une retraite anticipée), ou encore par suite de leur situation au sein de la collectivité (ils ont parfois des relations difficiles avec les pouvoirs publics et les organisations à visées sociales, ils peuvent être matériellement ou géographiquement isolés, ou victimes de diverses formes d'inégalité économique ou sociale).

Au sens où nous l'entendons, la signification et la portée de "l'enseignement" sont exprimées dans une formule simple et précise utilisée par le Service pénitentiaire :

> "l'enseignement dispensé dans les établissements du Service pénitentiaire a été décrit comme un moyen pour les détenus d'apprendre un métier, de leur faciliter l'existence et de contribuer à la qualité de la vie /carcérale/." (Prisons and the Prisoner: The Work of the Prison Service in England and Wales, Prison Department, HMSO, 1977).

En ce qui concerne les individus défavorisés, l'enseignement a toujours eu au moins l'un des cinq objets suivants :

1. favoriser l'égalité (et particulièrement l'égalité des chances);
2. leur permettre d'être traités comme les autres;
3. les aider à s'adapter (en assimilant, par exemple, une culture ou un milieu étranger ou aliénant);
4. les rendre indépendants (par exemple, en les libérant de la domination des services d'aide sociale);
5. faire en sorte qu'ils soient intégrés ou incorporés à la société.

L'étude décrit ensuite en détail les principaux organismes d'éducation des adultes et quelques programmes parmi les plus importants.

Toute évaluation des efforts entrepris au Royaume-Uni dans ce domaine et de leurs résultats devrait tenir compte de trois facteurs positifs : la notion de "handicap" s'est considérablement élargie; la législation reflète, dans une très grande mesure, l'intérêt que suscite ce problème; au cours des années 70, l'éducation des adultes

a fait preuve d'une vitalité et d'un dynamisme accrus; les dispositions prises pour pallier les handicaps grâce à l'instruction ont fait usage en grande partie des innovations apportées à l'éducation des adultes.

Bien entendu, ce bilan ferait aussi apparaître un côté négatif. Si les objectifs à atteindre ont bien été fixés, les moyens n'ont pas suivi, sauf dans certains domaines politiquement sensibles comme le chômage. Le nombre des individus vulnérables dépasse de loin tant les ressources disponibles que les effectifs qui participent réellement aux activités pédagogiques qui correspondent à leur cas. On risque toujours de se contenter d'une action symbolique, de croire qu'une poignée d'hirondelles peintes de couleurs vives et annoncées à grand renfort de publicité fait le printemps, de tomber dans la sensiblerie et de prendre les bonnes paroles et les bons sentiments pour une action sur le fond.

Il faut bien reconnaître qu'il y a, en tout état de cause, une limite à ce que l'enseignement peut faire. D'aucuns se trouveront gravement défavorisés parce que la situation économique s'est modifiée dans le monde, ou même dans une commune donnée, quand le principal employeur décide d'adopter de nouvelles techniques. Lorsqu'une ville entière perd, comme Liverpool, sa principale raison d'être économique, il faut bien davantage qu'un programme de sensibilisation à l'éducation des adultes pour venir à bout des souffrances entraînées par l'évolution profonde de toute une région pour des milliers de ses habitants.

Il faut aussi admettre que le système d'enseignement lui-même, malgré toute une série de réformes, contribue encore de certaines façons à défavoriser les adultes. Bien des enseignants, sans toujours s'exprimer aussi brutalement, prendraient à leur compte le verdict de trois spécialistes de la pédagogie qui écrivaient dans le Times Educational Supplement du 20 octobre 1978 :

> "Nous ne savons toujours pas réellement instruire les enfants de milieu ouvrier. L'écart creusé entre les catégories sociales par les avantages qu'elles retirent de l'enseignement reste aussi profond qu'il l'a toujours été."

Si l'on tient compte à la fois de ces aspects positifs et négatifs, l'expérience britannique met en lumière plusieurs dilemmes. Le premier concerne les rapports entre enseignement ordinaire et enseignement spécial. La personne qui ne peut ni lire ni écrire, qui n'entend pas ou ne peut trouver un emploi peut avoir besoin d'un enseignement spécial. Mais celui-ci ne devrait pas avoir pour effet d'aggraver encore l'isolement social qui peut être entraîné par le handicap dont elle souffre. Dans un compte rendu de recherches effectuées sur "l'éducation des adultes et le handicapé physique", on trouve la conclusion suivante :

"Les classes spéciales ont encore leur rôle à jouer en accueillant les handicapés qui préfèrent ne pas faire partie d'une classe ordinaire. Mais on peut mettre en doute le bien-fondé de l'hypothèse selon laquelle point n'est besoin d'offrir aux handicapés autre chose que des classes spéciales. Il semble bien qu'ils n'aient pas été assez encouragés à s'intégrer, autant que possible, aux classes ordinaires." (Diana H. Mohr, "Research Monograph on Adult Education and the Physically Handicapped Person", Disabled Living Foundation, Londres, 1977.)

Il semble que cette situation soit imputable en partie au manque de coordination entre les services sociaux et l'enseignement à l'échelon local.

Ce manque d'intégration s'aggrave encore lorsque les crédits affectés à l'éducation des adultes, souvent limités au départ, sont ensuite détournés de l'enseignement ordinaire et imputés aux prestations spéciales destinées aux catégories défavorisées. Dans bien des régions du Royaume-Uni elles ont donné lieu à une concurrence entre l'enseignement général destiné aux adultes et les sollicitations pressantes de la campagne d'alphabétisation. Le dernier rapport officiel de la campagne fait ressortir l'ironie de la situation et le manque de prévision dont témoigne cette rivalité :

"Nous avons été très inquiets de voir dans quelle mesure le financement par les autorités scolaires locales de la campagne d'alphabétisation s'était fait aux dépens des crédits déjà réduits qui devaient servir à l'éducation des adultes. Il est admissible et même souhaitable que certaines priorités soient modifiées pour mieux servir ceux qui ont jusqu'à présent été laissés pour compte par le service de l'éducation des adultes. Mais il n'est pas rentable de saper les fondements d'un service auquel beaucoup d'entre eux s'adresseront lorsqu'ils auront comblé les lacunes de leur instruction de base. Les rapports des autorités scolaires locales et des organisations sans but lucratif montrent que beaucoup d'élèves ne se contentent pas d'apprendre à lire et à écrire, mais veulent savoir calculer et acquérir d'autres "techniques de survie" qui reflètent bien le handicap général dont ils souffrent. Le service d'enseignement de base destiné aux adultes, dont ces témoignages montrent la nécessité, ne doit pas viser à remplacer l'éducation permanente mais à l'accompagner tout naturellement. Mettre en oeuvre l'un sans l'autre revient à nier tout ce que les trois dernières années nous ont permis de réaliser et d'apprendre. En donnant à certains une instruction de base sans leur offrir la possibilité d'aller plus loin, on les prive à nouveau de connaissances,

mais à un niveau légèrement supérieur. Si certaines autorités scolaires locales ont cru nécessaire de financer l'amélioration des cours d'alphabétisation aux dépens de l'éducation des adultes, il y a peu de chances de les voir développer leurs prestations d'éducation des adultes sans empiéter encore sur ce même service, à moins d'être très précisément invitées à procéder autrement." (Adult Literacy in 1977-78: A remarkable educational advance, HMSO, 1978.)

Les pouvoirs publics auraient peut-être tort de négliger le développement de l'enseignement ordinaire sous prétexte qu'il vaut mieux affecter les fonds publics aux prestations spéciales destinées aux membres les plus vulnérables de la société, et ce quels que soient les attraits d'une politique qui assortit les dépenses d'une teinte humanitaire.

Ce même compte rendu de la campagne d'alphabétisation qui dresse le bilan "d'un remarquable progrès de l'acquisition des connaissances" met en lumière un dilemme spécifiquement britannique, qui tient à l'importance de l'autonomie locale. Le fait que le pouvoir et l'administration s'exercent à l'échelon local comporte des avantages manifestes, l'un étant la proximité de ceux qui affectent les ressources et de ceux qui en ont besoin. Mais il présente aussi de grands inconvénients qui frappent toutes les mesures prises pour lutter contre la misère, et pas uniquement les campagnes d'alphabétisation:

"Il existe encore, en ce qui concerne l'alphabétisation des adultes, des écarts très sensibles d'une autorité locale à l'autre, même lorsque la superficie, la population et le montant des ressources imposables dans leur circonscription sont analogues. Il est difficile, faute d'une enquête approfondie, de trouver une explication logique au fait que certains comtés ont affecté 70.000 livres ou davantage à l'alphabétisation des adultes alors que d'autres n'y consacrent que 5.000 livres; par ailleurs ce montant s'élève à 80.000 livres dans un district métropolitain et à 3.000 dans un autre. On pourrait supposer que ces différences relèvent de décisions délibérément prises par les pouvoirs publics. Cependant, tout porte à croire que si les affectations importantes ont certes fait l'objet d'une décision de la commission compétente, il n'en est pas toujours de même lorsque la somme attribuée est faible. Il semble bien que le montant de l'affectation résulte davantage des jongleries internes auxquelles ont donné lieu les estimations que des fonctionnaires surmenés ont faites de l'enseignement complémentaire nécessaire que de l'exposé motivé des besoins soumis à une commission."(Ibid.)

Dans un paragraphe ultérieur du rapport, on trouve la conclusion suivante :

> "Nous pensons qu'il nous incombe de déclarer, en nous fondant sur l'expérience acquise au cours des trois dernières années, que les différences qui existent entre les prestations d'alphabétisation des adultes organisées par les autorités scolaires locales dans l'ensemble de l'Angleterre et du Pays de Galles augurent mal de la mise en place d'un service polyvalent pour les adultes dans le contexte plus général de l'enseignement de base qui leur est destiné."

Toutefois, il n'est pas possible de résumer l'expérience britannique par une série de dilemmes. Malgré les oppositions qui se produisent parfois entre le principe d'une certaine discrimination positive en faveur des adultes défavorisés et le maintien des services généraux, il est particulièrement frappant de constater, en étudiant l'expérience de ces dix dernières années, à quel point l'intérêt porté à ceux que l'on qualifie sommairement de "défavorisés" a permis de revitaliser et de dynamiser l'éducation ordinaire des adultes. Les milieux et les modalités d'enseignement se sont diversifiés, ceux qui peuvent se trouver amenés à participer, que ce soit comme élèves ou comme moniteurs, appartiennent à des catégories bien plus variées, le travail est moins figé dans sa forme, il constitue un phénomène socio-culturel moins limité. La compétence des différents organismes auxquels les adultes défavorisés peuvent s'adresser pour compenser leur handicap, quelle que soit sa forme, a connu une augmentation remarquable. Ce qu'il faudrait à présent, c'est disposer des ressources nécessaires pour permettre à des intéressés en bien plus grand nombre de tirer profit de ces progrès.

VI

THE INFORMATION FACTOR

by Alan M. Thomas

Adult educators are wont to claim that the great majority of adults desire to improve themselves by means of conscious learning if only in informal settings. If, in practice, many of them do not actively strive to learn, it is because suitable opportunities are lacking. Were large-scale facilities to be made available we would witness something like mass participation in adult education programmes.

Experience has shown that this line of argument is faulty. The mere provision of more facilities does not necessarily guarantee greater participation. This is mainly because of the constant failure to match facilities not to the felt needs of all groups in the population but only to some groups. As things are, it is those adults who are capable of translating their needs into demands - broadly speaking, the already educated - who enrol in existing or new programmes. Those who cannot articulate their demands remain outside.

The exclusion of large numbers of people from adult education programmes does not simply entail personal loss. It also entails collective loss, for all contemporary societies experience needs and problems that can only be overcome by increasing the knowledge and skills of their citizens at large. In addition, it appears that in most highly developed, highly specialised industrial societies the task of socialisation, formerly undertaken once at the beginning of a lifetime by the agencies of public education, now must be repeated several times during that lifetime. In such highly specialised societies individuals and groups grow out of touch with each other and even with the mechanisms of accommodation and adjustment. Any society which wishes to survive must attend to this fact and must arrange for the opportunities for, ideally, voluntary and mutual re-socialisation. There is, then, a strong public as well as private justification for providing adult education on such a scale and in such variety as to satisfy a broad range of individual and collective needs. Despite the very rapid and extensive growth of participation by adults in education in all highly developed and many developing

countries since 1945, it is quite clear that the participation has been very uneven so far as the total population in any one country is concerned. Most research on participation seems to support the findings of Waniewicz regarding participation in the Province of Ontario, Canada, in the early seventies.(1) Waniewicz found that about one-third of the adult population of approximately four million was participating actively in some recognisable form of education, another sixth was planning to participate, while the remaining fifty per cent was not participating. Waniewicz's definition of learning, "those learners who are consciously and deliberately engaged in a learning activity, who can name the specific subject matter of their study, who can connect it to a specific goal, and who are in a position to speak about their learning effort in terms of time and money they are willing to spend, type of recognition they want to achieve, etc." suggests that there are probably many more adults engaged in other less self-conscious forms of learning. Nevertheless, since the definition seems to approximate the type of education implicit in the concerns of the OECD, the findings serve to illustrate the point that about half of the adult population is not involved. Further examination reveals that those who do participate are for the most part urban dwellers, well-schooled as children, well-employed, and in the middle and upper-income sectors of the society. That is to say that those who have already made the most of, or profited the most from, the opportunities offered by the society were either profiting more or simply maintaining their positions by heavy and continuing use of the educational facilities. Audrey Thomas, in a study of adult literacy in Canada, published in the same period, points out that in Ontario, of those over the age of fifteen, and not attending school full-time, thirty-one per cent had less than grade 9 achievement and no further training of any kind! This tends to confirm the argument that non-participants are to be found mostly in the low-income, low-educational attainment, unskilled or partially-skilled groups in the populations of most of the societies in question.

In many respects, the education of adults in these societies in the 1970s resembled the education of children prior to the introduction of compulsory attendance laws in the early part of this century. The children of the rich and middle-class had access to the bulk of educational opportunities, the children of the poor had little access or none at all.

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1) I. Waniewicz, Demand for Part-time Learning in Ontario, OECA & OISE, Toronto, 1976, pp. 9-10.

2) A. Thomas, Adult Basic Education and Literacy Activities in Canada, 1975-76: World Literacy of Canada, Toronto, 1976, p. 9.

The degree to which the introduction of compulsory attendance for children solved the educational and social problems of that period and later ones is, in the 1970s, a matter of speculation. We will refer to the implications for educational information of compulsory attendance further on. However, since "compulsory attendance" of the same nature or on the same scale for adults in any modern society is unthinkable, any alteration of the present patterns of participation must involve us in other factors related to the genuine provision of educational opportunity for adults in these societies.

The direction of this argument is that one of these factors is the creation and management of educational information, that is of information related to educational demands and opportunities in all these societies. We will argue that it is a decisive factor that is little understood or appreciated, and in fact, that the way information is now managed is a significant contributor to the present unbalanced patterns of participation by adults. Before proceeding with the argument there is need for some clarification of terms. Clearly, in all the societies in question participation is uneven, and both participants and non-participants can be identified in terms of other characteristics. The question arises as to whether those who do not now participate should participate, and if they should be encouraged to do so, how much effort, financial and otherwise, should any society expend in order to encourage such participation? Those who do participate appear to enjoy more of the benefits of the society, including the benefits of access to learning resources, than those who do not. It is not unreasonable to assume that participation in education has something to do with either acquiring those benefits or retaining them. While the somewhat simplistic assumption of the forties and fifties that participation by children exclusively in formal education guaranteed both individual and collective development seems to have been demonstrated to be just that - simplistic - there is still some convincing evidence that participation by both children and adults in some form of education at differing times in their lives does bear a positive relationship to both individual and collective development. Therefore it remains a reasonable argument that if individuals wish to share more extensively in the benefits of their societies, continuing participation in some form of education throughout their lives is likely to mean a greater opportunity to do so. Turning to the definition presented by the "Russell Report"(1) to the effect that "the test of disadvantage is taken to be the extent to which ... integration into active society is prevented", we can argue further that participation in education by adults is related to "active

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1) Department of Education and Science, Adult Education: A Plan for Development (The Russell Report), HMSO, 1973.

participation" in the society and that it is still reasonable to assume that it is a major key to other dimensions of active participation, though we would agree that to argue that it was or is the sole or predominating key would be to exceed what the present evidence allows.

A particular advantage of the Russell "definition of disadvantage" is that it allows for the fact that the causes or conditions of disadvantage change from time to time, sometimes quite dramatically. In Belgium, and in the Canadian Province of Quebec, the current upsurge of particular linguistic groups, may mean that groups speaking other languages that inhabit the society will become the new disadvantaged, at least for a time. The significance of this fact will be enlarged upon later, since it serves to indicate that observation of particular patterns of information handling must be constant and the pattern must be amenable to regular change.

However, to avoid the familiar accusation that all adult educators naively share as a basic article of faith the view that the world and everyone in it would be benefited if there were 100 per cent participation 100 per cent of the time by adults in education, a sort of "more joy in heaven" attitude, let us assume that the individuals who do not participate in any form of education do not wish to participate, and are merely exercising their legitimate freedom not to take part. This would be arguable if there were some convincing evidence that most or all of the members of the group of non-participants had considered participating and decided against it on the basis of some reasonably apparent alternative. Hopefully, this is in fact true of some members of the group in question, and one would continue to hope that they would continue to make choices based on reasonable information that seem sensible to them. But there is little indication that this is true of the majority. On the contrary, there is little evidence to support the view that participation in educational activities as a means of solving their problems or enlarging their lives and opportunities ever presents itself to members of this group as a credible, manageable alternative. This appears to us to be a direct result of the present methods of handling educational information. It is not unreasonable to argue that we must at least attempt to achieve the condition that when an individual decides not to participate the decision is based on the existence of adequate and relevant information about what alternative opportunities exist for that individual.

Is participation in some form of education by adults itself a criterion of a more satisfactory life in a particular society, or is it merely a means to that end? If the latter is the case, we must keep in mind that there are other means and perhaps other entirely exclusive criteria of a satisfactory life. The history of educational

thought, at least in the western world, contains much of both arguments. Even if we accept only the "means" argument, there is still reason to attempt to improve education as a means for those for whom it can be so utilised. However, without wishing to be considered "old fashioned" or "sentimental", we intend to retain the "end" argument from the point of view that the potential release of imagination and energy that appears to result from the engagement of adults, sometimes quite unexpectedly, in some form of learning, is both for the individual a criterion of "a good life" and for the society an intrinsic and instrumental good. We use the word "potential" because we know that such involvement for individuals varies in quality, and in the degree to which it reaches the potential of which it is capable. In this case, perhaps, one should retreat to the argument currently being used to persuade people to buy lottery tickets, there is no guarantee you will enjoy such quality if you participate, but there is nearly a guarantee that you won't if you don't participate.

We have argued that to suffer disadvantage is to be excluded from taking part in the general life of the society including education. While taking part in education is in itself a benefit, it is also for some a means to securing the means to take part in other ways. However, the concept of "disadvantage" is only of general use. Once we begin to consider the matter of providing educational opportunity, we must turn to some very specific circumstances that adhere to the general condition. There are many reasons why individuals do not participate in education, reasons other than the general characteristics shared by non-participants. A mere renewed effort of the same sort as has characterised the past twenty years in terms of programmes, institutions, and information will achieve very little in changing the present patterns of participation. In this light it is perhaps helpful to see the condition of "disadvantage" as mutual. In terms both of the overall society and the quality of programmes in adult education we are deprived, by our lack of contact with those who do not now participate, of the lack of the impact that their imaginations, their experience, and their knowledge would make on both. The disadvantage results in a limited use of the instruments of learning in our societies, and limited imagination in the development of alternatives to those that now exist. The challenge is to find means to relate what we believe to be true of the potential of learning to experience and lives, indeed to cultures that do not share that view, with the resulting creation of new forms of learning, and new goals, both individual and collective. This mutuality must be expressed on many fronts; programmes, teaching styles, language, institutions, buildings, and at the heart of them all lies the problem of adequate information.

When envisaging the provision of comprehensive adult education services the importance of establishing effective information systems becomes very clear. Information must relate to two stages of response: the translation of need into educational demands and the translation of these demands into successful enrolment on the part of the individual and successful recruitment on the part of society. It has been the failure to distinguish between these two stages that has nullified so many efforts to provide effective information in the past.

One deceptively simple way of solving problems of information and recruitment in educational undertakings is to make attendance compulsory. This is the method adopted with respect to the education of the young. As early as 1912 most OECD countries had adopted some form of legislation requiring the attendance at school of children and youth within specified ages. Only now are there signs that a few countries are prepared to question the continuing efficacy of such legislation. Curiously, while this scepticism towards the young is making a slow appearance, the use of compulsion of varying sorts is gradually creeping upwards into other age groups and types of educational activities which have been characterised by voluntary participation. Many examples can be found in a recent paper by John Ohliger (1) describing the extent of compulsion now applied in adult education in the United States and reinforcing the view that it is a dubious solution.

Recent examinations of the actual effects of compulsory attendance suggest that the result has been to enhance the custodial functions of the schools rather than to serve general educational purposes and that increasingly these two have come into open conflict. These examinations suggest that those who have benefited most from educational changes are those who would have attended more or less voluntarily anyway. Moreover, it appears that the custodial function thus emphasized has made it difficult, if not impossible, to provide the variety of educational activities that would benefit all groups.

The dynamics of information handling, once compulsory attendance legislation is introduced, seem to be as follows. Outside the institution, that is, the school, only two messages or two pieces of information are required. The first is the compulsory attendance of easily identified members of the population - children. The requirement is advertised along with the existence of certain sanctions on both children and parents if it is not obeyed. While the classic truant officer as an agent of this authority - never very effective

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1) J. Ohliger, Is Lifelong Adult Education a Guarantee of Permanent Inadequacy? Paper presented at the University of Saskatchewan, Department of Adult Education, 7th-8th March 1974.

it seems - has tended to disappear, his place has been taken by social workers attached to schools and counsellors whose techniques are more probing and differentiated but whose mission is much the same. Countries like Canada have introduced indirect sanctions such as making the payment of family allowances contingent upon attendance in school. This appears to have been information reasonably easily communicated since the evidence suggests that actual school attendance increased substantially after the passage of legislation. It is difficult to tell whether that legislation itself aided change in attendance or whether other factors in society, such as shifts from agricultural to urban occupations and the increase in the number of employed mothers, made the custodial functions of schools more attractive for more people.

The second message that must be conveyed about the education of the young is how to get to the school and return home. In many respects, the current character of "the school" as a single building or group of buildings, with an immense variety of activities contained therein, contrasted with having those activities distributed in specialised buildings, can be attributed to the needs of the information system involved.

The simplicity of the school information system compares directly with the dynamics of commercial advertising as delineated by Paul Lazarsfeld some years ago. From among the elements of broadcast commercials as a means of bringing about specific acts such as the purchase of a product over wide spaces and by a great diversity of people, Lazarsfeld identified three factors: the existence of a stimulus (the commercial message); the existence of an audience (listeners identified through their radios); and the presence of the product at a reasonably convenient place visited frequently (the country store). Unless all these factors operate, the system breaks down. Lazarsfeld emphasized that the recipient of the message must be able to complete the action simply and quickly. When any more complicated action is called for, such as thinking in abstract terms for yourself, the efficacy of the system is reduced. The frequency with which the product is encountered is, of course, matched by the frequency of reception of the message indicating its desirability and availability. In our case, the child, through the parent, is reminded regularly of the necessity of attending a school which is usually easily accessible.

The point seems obvious, even trivial, but the directness and clarity of such a system of information are often neglected in the planning and operation of extensive programmes in adult education. No so tightly circumscribed a system may be necessary for adults, but little thought has been given in any methodical sense to how systems of information differ and what the consequences are when they do.

Before passing to the more obvious contrasts that exist with respect to most adult educational enterprises, it is useful to examine some of the consequences of this school-oriented information system with respect to the participation in education of such children when they become adults. The first consequence lies not with the children at all but with the habits acquired by those who operate such a system and who frequently extend their activities to the education of adults. What it means is that school administrators have not had to develop any information or communication skills for application outside the school building. They use highly sophisticated systems of information within the school, but are seldom aware of the need to alter them to suit the circumstances of those adults who come into the school or of the need to assess the dynamics of the information elements that must be extended beyond the school to reach the potential student. The result is that administrators usually fall back on the most obvious and familiar methods and media. These methods tend to reinforce the patterns of participation by adults as described by Johnstone and Rivera.(1) The means used reach only those most clearly predisposed to make use of the information. An example of this lack of experience is the increasing predilection of adult educators to turn to commercial marketing agencies in order to reach or recruit greater numbers of students. We are arguing that it is precisely because they have not had much or any experience with problems of information that educators are attracted by marketing advice. The extent to which it is derived from the sale of manufactured products will obviously deeply distort and probably render ineffective the educational service intended by both educator and potential student.

We have pointed out that the consequences of compulsion greatly simplify the information extended beyond the boundaries of the school, and in turn greatly complicate the information that must be handled within it. As the individual student progresses upwards in the school system, he faces increasing complexities of, of course, programme, options, careers and credentials, none of which seem related clearly to anything outside the school. Therefore, the student becomes accustomed to finding such information only within the school or the school system and only from clearly identifiable authorities or custodians of this information - teachers or counsellors or, more often, word-of-mouth advice from his peers who are also students involved daily in the same system. Even after the compulsory attendance period, as the student succeeds in mastering the system, he becomes accustomed to finding the needed information only within the school and from fellow-students. His habit of and experience with information-seeking

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1) J. Johnstone and R.J. Rivera: Volunteers for Learning: A Study of the Educational Pursuits of American Adults, Aldine Publishing Co., Chicago, 1965.

are severely limited. Little is learned about dealing with information available outside the school. Those whose experience with schools is short or negative or both, or who assume that education is confined to childhood and youth alone therefore conclude that such information is only relative to that institution and the initial period of life.

A study undertaken by Christofferson (1) in Wisconsin reported what the public of School District One of that State knew about career education opportunities and how this information was acquired. From an investigation of 221,000 persons, including adults as well as students in grades 8 and 12, the author concluded that while general awareness of such opportunities among the population was not a problem, most were not aware of the variety of offerings and opportunities available. Adults tended to depend more on television as a source of career information, while the career decisions of the young seemed most influenced by parents, teachers, brochures, friends, television, magazines and career days. Other studies from North American settings tend to emphasize the general lack of information and the dependence on extremely limited sources, most of them human, particularly in the transition period from school to work.

These consequences serve to explain a phenomenon reported consistently by all researches into adult participation in education in North America and in Europe. This is the fact that adults seem to choose institutions or agencies first and programmes or courses second. Choices are determined by the most recent educational institution or agency with which the adult has had contact. For example, if the previous educational level attained by an individual was something less than high school graduation, he tends to look to the school board or local educational authority when he has to make a decision about returning for more education. If university graduation was the previous level of achievement then only the university is considered, even though proximity and convenience would suggest resort to another agency. There are obvious functional reasons for this behaviour such as status needs, the notion of irreversibility engendered by a pyramidal grade system, and simple familiarity. But one suspects that the underlying factor is access to information. The choice of the agency first suggests an element of membership in a semi-secret society which is expected to confine detailed information to its participants, and convey only suggestions outside its own boundaries. This appears to be true of that part of the population with the lowest educational

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1) Christofferson, A Study of Audio-Visual Needs as they related to presenting an effective public information programme about vocational, technical, and adult education career opportunities in District 1, final report, Wisconsin State Board of Vocational, Technical and Adult Education, Madison, Wisconsin, 1972.

achievement even when the association is with a quasi-educational agency. In a study of recruitment in an adult basic education programme in White Plains, New York, Lethbridge reported that 47 per cent of the students came through the channel of other community agencies.(1)

Although there are other consequences of this situation, it is valuable at this point to examine the general contrasts in adult participation as a preface to examining the context in which the information dynamics operate. The recent suggestion from OECD that the term "non-compulsory" be used to distinguish the concerns of adult education and adult educators from the concerns of the so-called formal sector within the general rubric of life-long education seems most applicable when we consider the problems of information. By comparison with that of a portion of the population defined by age, and reached indirectly through another relatively easily defined group termed parents or guardians, the adult population is not easy to identify. It comprises all those people termed as the "public" or "voters" or "consumers" or "audiences", depending upon the particular standpoint. It means understanding the needs to gain access to educational undertakings. As one admits the existence of a group of potential students as wide and complex as adult society as a whole, a quite different concept emerges from that usual image common to educational institutions of a recognisable group of students tucked away in identifiable preliminary institutions with comfortably predictable aspirations and intentions. One also has to admit the existence of a substantial number of equally varied institutions seeking to make themselves available to those potential students or seeking to recruit them. Here there is no simple school to which the compulsory arrow points, but an enormous number of agencies, institutions, programmes, courses, materials and individuals seeking somewhat blindly to make contact with one another.

A major question to be faced is whether the relationship between the adult student and the educational agency or experience is precisely the same as the relationship between the voter and the aspiring candidate or party, the consumer and the aggressive manufacturer, the potential convert and the attractive religion, or the citizen and the provision of public services. If it is the same, then the problems of information need not be any different from those common to all other mass pursuits and we need not dwell on them in this specific context. If it is not the same, as we believe, then it is precisely in the

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1) E. Lethbridge, Recruitment, Holding, and Follow-up Practices in Adult Basic Education, Literacy Discussion, Vol. IV, Nos. 1-2, March-June 1973, International Institute for Adult Literacy Methods, UNESCO, Teheran, p. 36.

relationship between potential student and providing agency that we will find the difference.

If we believe that an educated citizenry - that is a learning citizenry - is a foundation for democratic freedom in our highly technical and complex societies, then it is of the utmost importance that we solve the information problem of aiding a dispersed population make contact with an enormous variety of agencies and vice versa. To fail to do this is to leave individual aspirations and potentialities unfulfilled, as well as to reduce the variety of opportunities for fulfilling them, as the range of agencies offering such opportunities but unable to reach sufficient numbers of students is reduced. While learning does not appear to be a "scarce commodity", though it may well be a perishable one, education does observe the laws of scarcity. There is, or appears to be, only so much that a society can or will provide in the way of public resources for learning. Therefore, the need to maximise the efficiency of use of such resources from both individual and collective points of view is critical. The relationship between individual demands for education arising out of their own perceptions of their own needs and the social provision of relevant resources arising out of a society's estimates of its own needs is a precarious balance continuously in need of adjustment.

In many of the societies involved there is increasing interest in the phenomenon of what may be called "private learning" where individuals pursue their own learning goals independent of specific programmes and institutions, though they may and often do use such publicly provided resources as libraries, broadcasting services and the like. In some instances, public educational authorities are moving to relate formal programmes to individual ones by redefining the role of student. In these cases, for example, the "Open University" in Great Britain, or the "University Without Walls" in the United States, a person can be a student without having to take up residence or without having to conform to specific periods of time such as "terms" or "semesters". Much of this is being undertaken under the general rubric of "openness". Nevertheless, whether one regards such undertakings as the liberation of resources and thereby learners, or as an act of "seduction", whereby those who would have learned on their own are "persuaded" to subject themselves to some degree to the authority of a formal institution, what is undeniable is that more and more people are being brought within the activities of "formal" institutions. Presumably this movement is related to the need for "resocialisation".

We will cite more than one example of the provision of public resources in support of private learning, and the characteristics of those who would best learn under private circumstances remains to be explored definitively in most societies. However, while the two can be treated separately, the dividing lines are thin and the general purposes to be served are the same.

Most studies of information related to education tend to be reflective of the intentions of the institution or agency concerned, and less concerned with the intentions and general circumstances of the recipient of such information, the potential student. Houle (1) and others have supplied data on the general dispositions of adult students and to some degree on the steps or procedures that seem to be followed by those who intend to become students. Essentially we are dealing with individuals engaged full time in some other activity or activities whose attention must be gained and who must be both informed and to a degree persuaded before they ever make contact with a programme, course or agency. A study by Shearman (2) does in fact start from the point of view of user needs and deals with problems of creating systems for determining and meeting those needs.

However, the best intimations of the potential learner situation come from analyses of counselling services for individuals that have been found to be necessary, for example, in nearly all adult basic education programmes. Since these are the individuals who, by definition, do not find their way into educational agencies, the need for counselling on a direct basis and the elaboration of the circumstances and conditions are understandable. There is further indication from the counselling provided by institutions to individuals who do at least make spontaneous contact with those institutions that the information needs of both users and non-users fall within a spectrum of degree with identifiable major distances between certain elements. A study by Miller (3) which attempts to distinguish various sociological and psychological theories relative to motivation for participation in education, observes that some forms of participation can be increased by reaching people through their own organisations. We have already referred to Lethbridge's (4) study of an adult basic education programme to this effect, but the point at issue here is that for the predominantly middle-class users of formal educational institutions those instructions are perceived by them to be their own organisations.

Two studies are reasonably representative of the literature in suggesting the circumstances in which adult learners find themselves. Primarily, counselling is focused on the adult's own views of the relevance to himself of any educational programme with particular

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1) C.O. Houle, The Inquiring Mind, Madison, Wisconsin, 1961.

2) Shearman, Meeting Users Needs, Where Adult Education and Information Science Interact. Paper presented at National Seminar on Adult Education Research, Toronto, 9th-11th February 1969, EDRS.

3) H.L. Miller, Participation of Adults in Education, A Force-Field Analysis, Centre for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, Brookline, Mass., 1967.

4) E. Lethbridge, op.cit.

emphasis on the personal sense of ability to learn. Since a commitment of time and often money is involved, the adult needs the assurance that any offer under consideration is relevant to his capacity and to his eventual goals. Though the contact is made in response to a specific offering, it is usually necessary to review the entire circumstances surrounding the individual in order to ascertain whether the initial programme considered will fit the abilities and goals as effectively as other programmes of which the counsellor may be informed but not the individual. A good deal of interaction at this stage relates to learning skills since, as already pointed out, most adults associate learning with their last formal contact with education. The sequence of questions tends to be - Can I learn? Can I learn that? Can I learn in that place? If I do, will the result lead in the direction I wish to go? In addition, the adult seeks reassurance from those around him, particularly members of his family, as to whether they believe it to be the right thing to do and whether they will support or interfere with the intended commitment.

Whether all or some of these questions are pursued in the company of a counsellor or privately, they appear to be generally characteristic. Having reached some tentative conclusions, most adults appear to wish to test them over a period of time before making a final commitment. Educators generally underestimate the length of this process, sometimes as long as a year after the initial stimulus, and frequently withdraw the offering too quickly. The assessment varies according to the sophistication of the potential student, discussions with other participants and instructors, as well as local opinion leaders. A report of a community development project in Greece (1) emphasizes the significance of beginning with concentration on local issues, developing learning skills, and using local leaders as a means of penetrating the community. A suggestive study by Booth and Knox (2) not only supports the finding that participants were of a higher educational level than non-participants, but that both high and lower-level participants relied on opinion leaders more often than not. Sources of influence were shown to be: Face-to-face (40 per cent), mass communication source (29 per cent), unknown (31 per cent). The reasons for personal speaking include the need to obtain specific information (38 per cent), to obtain reassurance (32 per cent), to get someone else (13 per cent), and to make personal arrangements (3 per cent).

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1) Adult Education Techniques in Developing Countries: A Greek Case Study. Problems of Development Series, OECD, Paris 1967.

2) A. Booth and A. Knox, Participation in Adult Education Agencies and Personal Influence, EDRS, 1968.

Only after these steps are taken is the individual likely to participate in a programme. Obviously, the frequent user can telescope some of these procedures, but it appears that aspects of them come into play each time a major choice is in question. It is also obvious that if access to counselling or to information of this sort is available only after the individual has crossed the threshold of a specific institution, then many searches by potential students will be abandoned in the early stages.

It is important here to point out a repetitive phenomenon that occurs in this area of activity. The need for an adult to reflect before he elects to participate is so great and so sustained that in many public institutions the counselling-informing function is turned into a procedure closely resembling a course of study. Participants return at regular intervals, and often engage in reading and assigned research and writing. What is at stake here is that educators of adults often neglect the fact that the newly identified student engaged in a course of study is as much preoccupied with learning how to master the material in that particular setting as with mastering the material itself. Learning how to learn involves much of what we have described from the point of initial contact, but it is often ignored by the instructor who is so accustomed to the particular skills demanded that he simply does not notice these other learning needs. This fact applies every time a learner shifts from one institution to another and from one type of learning to another. It is clear that the need to identify and separate this function is clearly developing on a very large scale with respect to three groups, women, the elderly and the poor.

There are two other aspects of these activities that deserve to be drawn out, activities that perhaps are best described as a continuing dialogue between the potential student and the educational system. The first is that individuals engaged in these processes are clearly engaged in learning how to be students. As we have noted, the institutions are often unaware of the total dimensions of that role, though they show signs of becoming more aware of it than in the past. What is less appreciated is that learning the new role is often a more intense experience for the individual than mastery of the subject matter. In some cases, particularly with the infrequent users who have been recruited through their own organisations, the transition is from the role of member to the role of student or at least to new membership. Little attention is paid to this transition with the result that many potential students languish or fail without understanding the reasons.(1) It is also clear that the perceived ability

1) A. Thomas, "Studentship and Membership, A Study of Roles in Learning", Journal of Educational Thought, University of Calgary, Canada, 1967.

to be or to become a student is a major watershed separating frequent and infrequent users and non-users. That most educational "publicity" is designed for individuals who are frequent users and already perceive themselves as students seems quite obvious. Equally obvious is the fact that for the most part a person only perfects his ability as a student after he has entered an institution where ability to learn the role is assumed. This seems to be the major reason why the conventional institutions fail so consistently to attract new populations, unless they are willing to take the awareness of the need to learn to be a student and the means to satisfy that need beyond their doors and into many different nooks and crannies of the society.

The second matter is an extension of the first but very important. Many of the changes in formal education today reflect a willingness to provide for the greater autonomy of the learner. Not only are "open" systems being designed, but institutions are becoming more "open" in allowing for freer determination on the part of the learner. This appears to be true even where certification is involved. It may be in part the result of the impact of growing participation by adults who often insist on a high degree of autonomy. However, it also indicates that in the information process the dialogue must be a genuine one in the sense that it goes in both directions. While some aspects of the process - the delivery and receipt of a descriptive brochure for example - resemble a manufacturing-marketing process, in fact all analyses reflect the fact that once involved in the process the adult will assert himself consistently, affecting not only the choice of separate courses of programmes, but also the nature of the programmes, the nature of the teaching and of the very institutions itself. Most public institutions are finding that in order to attract new populations and to engage in successful informing and recruiting, they must alter the content and style of their entire operation. Parkyn (1) observes that in order to create a genuine system of life-long education from the base of present systems, the whole system must alter. In other words, it is not a simple matter of adding new services, programmes or agencies. Nowhere is this more evident than in the post-secondary systems of most countries at the present time.

The foregoing also allows us to dispense with the market metaphor. If a dialogue exists between consumer and manufacturer, it is still a far cry from that which apparently must exist between educational resources and learner. This means that it must be two-way and that one of the information skills required of an educational agency or system is that of listening, of gathering information about the learner and responding to it. This is clearly apparent in some of

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1) G.W. Parkyn, "Towards a Conceptual Model of Life-long Education", Educational Studies and Documents, No. 12, UNESCO, Paris, 1973.

the more ambitious programmes for previous non-users, as well as in the development of guidances and counselling resources, but the position of the latter in the administrative arrangements of their institutions, and the position of the former with respect to the educational systems as a whole, do not suggest that this fact has been much appreciated.

Another way of stating the issue in a more theoretical form is to make use of Wilbur Schramm's (1) formula for effective communication:

1. The message must be so designed and delivered as to gain the attention of the intended destination.
2. The message must employ signs which refer to experience common to source and destination.
3. The message must arouse personality needs in the destination and suggest some ways to meet those needs.
4. The message must suggest a way to meet those needs which is appropriate to the group situation in which the destination finds himself at the time when he is moved to make their required response.

In commenting on item 2, Lewis (2) points out that language itself, in terms of the differing vocabularies of the educated and uneducated, raises a problem usually neglected in informational attempts. Any adult programmer knows the significance of the title of a course of programmes in terms of the liveliness or stodginess it conveys to the potential student, quite independently of any future experience he may have with the course. While the Schramm formula is a useful summary of the preceding discussion, it also allows us to state the issue in somewhat different ways. The very analysis of these four factors tends to be unconsidered in most educational institutions. Most of them have existing clientele whose characteristics are already familiar in differing degrees. Most of them design their information systems with that clientele in mind and for the most part meet the standards outlined. It is only when they try to reach for a novel clientele that intuitive information behaviour plays them false. More serious is the failure to realise they have a residual clientele which, as a result of participation in the formal youth-centred educational system, is likely to attend to them alone and to reject or ignore other institutions. That is to repeat the point made earlier that

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1) W. Schramm, The Process and Effect of Mass Communication, University of Illinois Press, 1965, p. 13.

2) Lewis, "Communication Barriers Between Educated and Uneducated Persons", Literacy Work, Vol. III, No. 4, April-June 1974, The International Institute for Adult Literacy Methods, Teheran.

institutions are themselves part of the individual information they disseminate, and to a large degree for the student, awareness of the institution precedes awareness of any specific information. Thus, in grasping Schramm's item 4 that the message must suggest a way to meet those needs which are appropriate to the group situation in which the destination finds himself, it is clear that some institutions cannot reach some groups or individuals no matter what the offering, unless they disguise themselves or change their normal style entirely. The other side of this coin is that some groups are only likely to be reached by certain types of institutions. If that institution provides no appropriate offering or no stimulation, the group simply does not participate no matter how active other institutions may be. What this means is that until the impact of the compulsory system is altered, parallel information services will have to be provided by different institutions, though these systems may appear to have similar services leading to the same goals.

Before proceeding to a description of some educational activities, which in their diversity are essentially solutions to problems of information rather than education, we wish to introduce a further analysis of problems in the learning process.

Although we have introduced evidence with respect to the mass media as carriers of information about educational opportunities of various kinds, we have not dealt with educative agencies as media in their own right. It might be supposed that television, for example, with its all-pervasive influence, might solve the information issue by placing the educational experience at the immediate disposal of the individual, that is his living room, and by reducing the variety of decisions and sequence of steps we have been describing.(1) To the extent that television conveys material of an educational or instructional nature, it appeals only to some people and even for them it is apparent that a number of decisions or choices are involved. Extensive studies of educational television systems and of educational programmes carried by the major television systems reveal that it is one thing to place the material within the orbit of a flick of the switch, it is quite another to persuade very many individuals to take advantage of it. Studies of the Open University in Great Britain and of similar undertakings using radio or television (2) indicate the

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1) R. Blakely, Use of Instructional Television in Adult Education, A Review of some recent developments, Publications Program in Continuing Education, Syracuse University, 1974.

2) B. Hall, Wakiti Wa Furaka, An Evaluation of a Radio Study-Group Campaign, Institute of Adult Education, University of Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, 1972, for a useful review of such an attempt with radio, presumably the medium most effective with a predominantly oral population. While the project was a success, it was accompanied by supporting written materials, organisers, and other sorts of supplementary information. See also Studies of Canadian Farm Forum, etc.

significance of providing specific information and other sorts of supporting material in various media. A large-scale experiment of this kind was TEVEC, a series of television programmes addressed to barely literate and deprived groups of people in a northern part of the Province of Quebec, Canada. The experiment was reviewed and analysed by Lallez (1) who comments at length on factors other than the presence of an easily available television programme that must obtain if the undertaking is to succeed. Two significant comments are in order.

> "On the basis of the preliminary surveys, the promoters concluded that viewing television programmes in the home has considerable bearing on enrolment figures and the attendance rate. Once the experiment began, further surveys confirmed the first by showing that the wife influences continued attendance at television classes. However, well aware also that on the one hand their targets would not be reached if individual learnings were not accompanied by the structuring of a "regional" conscience, and on the other hand that the individual or family participation would not allow full assimilation of the message content, the authors planned and attempted to establish Tele-Clubs and Revision Centres in which animation could play its indispensable part. But these centres were difficult to set up and met with little success unless they adopted special or unexpected, although still valuable, forms. .... Paradoxically, and this is in itself interesting, those who came to the pre-arranged meeting places (often village schools) did so less to solve their educational problems than to satisfy their desires for informal gatherings (farmers living in isolated areas or in low-density rehabilitation zones). As for others, although their meetings were specifically devoted to education, they also demonstrated the freedom of choice mentioned earlier.(1)
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> "We are convinced that a multi-media system combined with group activity animated by a mediator can provide excellent learning conditions for adult education. But however valuable it may be, this learning is in turn based on a pre-requisite. It is still in fact necessary for the individual to agree to the work and to adhere to the group. He will do so only when he is sure one way or another his

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1) Lallez, "Animation Problems in a Multi-media Education System", Literacy Work, No. 4, April 1974, International Institute for Adult Literacy Methods, Teheran.

education will help him participate effectively according to modalities and at a level, as yet undefined, in deliberations and decisions relating to the problems of economic and social development. He connects his education not only with participation in the structures of the educational system but also with participation in the structures of the economic and social system for which his education is intended."(1)

Lallez indicates elsewhere in the article that, if the programme is to succeed, such participation must take place concurrently with the educational programme and as a part of it.

We have quoted from this article at some length since it seems to summarise and clarify many of the points at issue. Whether or not the information exchanged within some of the discussion groups described could be termed educational, it is quite clear that it was part of the enlistment process. Presumably some of the farmers were taking their "search" steps after initial contact with a television programme, but such steps were nonetheless indispensable for continuation. One might surmise that such groups performed for the participants in that programme what "counselling" in more formal settings performs for the more educated user. It is also possible to speculate that the higher users, the better educated who see the educational institutions as their institutions, are confident of obtaining the sort of "participatory" feedback that the low users have little confidence in or expectation of. Lallez points out that unless the means for such exchange are specially created, the programme however skilled in instructional terms and perfected in materials, will fail. It is quite clear that an institution must reach out with more in its grip than what is generally conceived to be its "content". Finally, what is observable here is the peculiar balance of student and member roles that seem associated with all educational enterprises. In terms of information it is possible to argue that the "membership" quality plays a substantial part in dealing with Schramm's points about relevance or appropriateness in items 2 and 4. The groups make manifest to its members and to the institution what is relevant and appropriate for each individual and contributes power to this assertion.

By the early 1950s, in nearly all OECD countries, it had become clear that existing educational institutions and programmes were inadequate to deal with the learning need-demand developments. This inadequacy applied to both the amount and variety of institutional

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1) Lallez, ibid.

resources as well as their modes of operation, among which was the practice of recruitment and information. Many of the adjustments that have since characterised the period have been of such a nature as to deal with recruitment and inclusion, simultaneously relating to existing expanded institutions or new ones. It is now proposed to examine some examples of these developments under such headings as "programme development", "institutional adjustment", and "the provision of new services". These examples will be used as a means of examining the degree to which the problems of information with which we are concerned have been solved.

1. Programme Development

This group deals with educational programmes irrespective of whether they require new educational agencies to carry them out or whether they are related at some point to existing agencies. No attempt will be made to deal with them in detail, except to the extent necessary to make the point.

a) Events

In this case the educational programme, either self-initiated or emanating from a responsive institution, event, such as the predictable return to employment on the part of many married women or approaching retirement. The common experience is established and manifested and the aim is to create an awareness of the relevance of a "learning" programme to the encounter with the event. What must be conveyed is that the involvement in learning will either improve the experience of the event or reduce its negative consequences. While some substantial programmes have been associated in the past with improvement, such as anniversary celebrations, sporting events and the like, the most representative of these programmes is associated with the reduction of discomfort. Information in this case generally emerges with respect to the discomfort of individuals experiencing the event, and only a gradual impact is made on the social or educational structure. Information about the experience is drawn from those experiencing it, who often become the early teachers or animators of subsequent organised responses. Since the event is novel, it rarely has an immediate counterpart in the way that knowledge is presently organised and transmitted. The institutions by and large attempt to impose their present method of organisation on the experience, providing information of the sort that for the most part seems irrelevant to the part of the population in mind. The result positively stated is a continuing dialogue in which a mutual search for relevance related to existing resources takes place. Such a dialogue can be found in the extra-mural, extension, adult education

apparatus of existing educational institutions. Frequently the initiative remains with those most directly experiencing the event. They will band together as temporary members and develop their own resources and learning plans.

North American and British institutions of formal education have long traditions of trying to respond to such learning needs as these. In Europe it has been more the case of creating separate institutions to provide for such exigencies. In each experience different information practices have developed, with differing results. The North American case has been a problem of conveying the image of potential relevance to immediate short-term events while being associated with an institution which also conveys a bent for stability. In most respects, the result has been that such a message has been conveyed only to a relatively small group of well-educated people who were willing to accept the dissonance arising from the transmission of both images. In the European situation the creation of a special institution like a Folk University has meant relating to specific groups from the very beginning as a measure of security. Programmes that often begin by arising from events tend to become wedded to the needs of the original group, and to expand in conjunction with those needs rather than to remain flexible for new events. Another way to deal with such problems is to introduce an educational programme into a non-educational agency where the event is largely associated.(1) The very large numbers of such publications and programmes and their relatively fugitive nature suggest that by and large most responses to events are conducted within the most relevant and immediate agency simply because the problems of information are thereby reduced. The potential audience is easily identified, relevance is automatic, and since, for example, the retired individual will retain an interest in the employer through his pension and other benefits, a major and functional need is met automatically. However, this is only possible with large agencies which possess substantial resources and will only apply to specific related events.

As learning becomes more and more relevant to more events in highly complex societies, there is need to examine ways to create and maintain educational agencies with a high degree of flexibility. In some countries, notably Britain, the United States and Canada, it is possible to imagine these responses being carried out through a complex network of voluntary associations, which have long represented unique combinations of student and member roles though their middle-class nature limits them considerably. Canada, in particular, has

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1) Instructor Guide for Federal Income Tax Implications of Civil Service Retirement. A Unit for Federal Employee Pre-Retirement Counselling Seminar, Bureau of Training, Civil Service Commission, Washington, D.C.

attempted a response through the federal government, such as a group of programmes called Opportunities for Youth (students), Local Initiative Projects (unemployed), and New Horizons (over 65). These programmes allowed designated groups to formulate activities to deal with a multitude of events and to propose these activities for public financial assistance. In this case the information problem is considerably more simple than most government and educational undertakings. It is largely a matter of keeping such programmes in existence long enough so that the information has a chance to reach the entire population.

Any agency attempting to deal with events must be highly flexible in both time and space and have access to the agencies of mass information in a double sense: it must be able to listen to its society through all the means available such as census data and other statistical resources; it must also be able to reach large groups of people with reasonable speed. An example of a growing means of doing so is the educational use of cabled broadcasting which has been developed considerably in Canada and is now spreading to such countries as Spain and the United States.(1) It is also likely that such an agency needs to be in close contact with "neighbourhood" or local information centres.(2) A further example of developments of this kind is reported in an article by Stock (3) who refers to the vast increase of guidance and counselling being provided for adults in the United Kingdom and also of the provision of store-front "job shops" or "education shops". In this case, an individual can respond easily to an event of significance to himself or herself by making enquiries. However, while a two-way information system is maintained between the individual and the counsellor, there is not much evidence that the counsellor can do other than provide information and advice about choices already in existence. The possibility, if necessary, of the system adjusting specifically to the individual event is remote. Perhaps it ought to be.

b) Conditions

Here we are dealing with programmes that have evolved in response to the needs of people who find themselves in particular conditions,

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1) Herman and Rose, The Community Use of Media for Life-Long Learning in Canada, Report for the Division of Development and Application of Communication, UNESCO, Department of Adult Education, OISE, 1974.

2) Diana J. Ironside, et al, The Power to Communicate a Revolution in Information Handling, Report for the Federal Department of Communications, Consumers Association of Canada and the Department of Adult Education, OISE, 1972.

3) A. Stock, Guidance and Counselling Services for Adults in the United Kingdom, National Institute for Adult Education, London, 1973.

such as unemployment, poverty, old age or physical handicaps. A great deal of adult education has been concerned with programmes of this kind in recent years.(1) All of these examples report programmes in which a specific target population is identified and a range of educational resources is related to them. In this case, the condition provides the definition of the enterprise with no necessary assumption of psychological or sociological similarities among the people concerned. It is simply a matter of selecting them from the population as a whole. Most of these programmes concentrate on the provision of information and counselling, referring the individuals to existing educational agencies and only rarely creating agencies of their own. The Saskatchewan programme is an exception, indicating that these programmes are largely a means of solving the general problem of information with respect to adult education. Attention can be attracted and "common experience" included with relative ease. Relevance travels on the first two and is maximized for the individual by the emphasis on counselling which is common to all programmes. It is tempting to speculate on the possibility of solving all these types of problems by such identification, but the dangers of segregation and specialisation for the society as a whole are apparent. It is likely that such enterprises can succeed only because these groups are relatively small in number and highly distinguishable. What is also at stake is the relationship of such specialised services to the educational establishment and the degree to which they can win particular adjustment from it. Here again their ability to convey information to the establismment in ways that bring about changes becomes a matter of very great importance.

One of the major elements in this category for all countries is unemployment. All countries in recent years have developed large-scale manpower schemes devoted to the retraining of the unemployed. Several substantial studies have been conducted by the Australian Government of such programmes in other countries as a basis for expanding their own sources.(2) Again, we see that these are for the

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1) Educational Activities for the Elderly, Dallas County Community College, Dallas, Texas, 1974;
Counselling and Community Services Center for Deaf. A Comprehensive Counselling and Community Services Center for Deaf Adults, Pittsburgh Hearing and Speech Society, Pittsburgh, PA. 1973;
Conger, Methods for Human Resource Development, Training Research and Development Station, Prince Albert, Sask., Canada, 1973;
Score, Service Corps of Retired Executives, Counsellors Guidebook, Small Business Administration, Washington, DC, 1972;
Report on University of Toulouse, Université du troisième âge.

2) TAFE in Australia, Report of the Australian Committee on Needs in Technical and Further Education, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1974;
Open Tertiary Education, Draft Report of Committee on Open Universities, Australian Universities Commission, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1974.

most part information programmes, making use of existing training facilities. The Canadian report indicates that Canada made far greater use of formal facilities than other countries which have tended to use factory-floor locations in co-operation with employers.(1) In this case, too, the counselling function is central and again one detects a serious lack of co-ordination between the entrance counselling and the later educational activities. A little noticed result of the Canadian system is that the individuals referred to educational institutions by the manpower service are for the most part entirely segregated in those institutions, often in separate buildings or at separate locations. It is also clear that all these services in trying to relate need for skills, opportunities for employment with training and the time such training takes, suffer seriously themselves from the lack of certain kinds of information such as accurate employment forecasting. An area for further analysis may be of examining each of these types of centres as an intersection of various specialised kinds of information with a view to conceiving them in a more rational way.

c) Special Groups

This title can be applied to all three categories, but what distinguishes participants in this category is that they are already conscious of belonging to a special group; groups that are identified in professional or occupational terms, groups identified by beliefs or ideologies, or the emerging groups of women.(2)

With respect to problems of information, these situations are ideal. The groups are defined largely by interest, which means that the basis of their identity is the stuff of which learning programmes are made. Attention, common experience and relevance are built into the existing system making the presentation of alternatives in the form of programme development relatively easy. It is significant that, except in the largest of the groups, those defined by a location which may involve a variety of occupations such as large companies, counselling is not heavily emphasized. Many of the functions that

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1) Economic Council of Canada, Design for Decision-making, An Application to Human Resources Policies, Eighth Annual Review, September 1971, Information Canada, Ottawa.

2) The Churches' Expanding Role in Adult Education, Summary Report of the Study Project, Paper Number 8, United States Catholic Conference, Washington, DC, 1972;
Fostering the Growing Need to Learn, Monographs and Annotated Bibliography on Continuing Education and Health Manpower, Division of Regional Medical Services, Bureau of Health Resources Development, Room 11-47, Parklawn Bldg., 5600 Fishers Lane, Rockville, Maryland, United States;
Punnar, The Telephone-Radio Conference, A Method of Continuing Education for Health Professions, American Journal of Occupational Therapy, November-December 1972, pp. 26, 8, 410-4;
Saint, Learning at Work, Human Resources and Organisational Development, Nelson-Hall Company, Chicago, 1974.

counselling performs in other settings are unnecessary. It may be that the very ease with which the information problems are solved in settings such as these is one of the reasons for the very rapid growth of these kinds of educational programmes. No doubt it is the reason why they are so tempting to other interests with less specialised educational goals, an example of which is the passage of the French law referred to earlier. Such programmes tend to be highly specialised with precise criteria. They also tend to be extremely exclusive and relatively invisible to the society as a whole. Hence perhaps Clarke's surprise on finding such programmes so widely spread by the mid-nineteen fifties in the United States.(1) The price paid for the ease of information handling is precisely the relative privacy of such programmes and the difficulty of relating their magnitude and effect to the entire educational effort of the society in question. It is quite possible to imagine some of these programmes which in effect run counter to the intentions and interest of the society in which they are found.

One of the largest groups within this sector is, of course, the professions. Much has been said in recent years about the deterioration of professional knowledge and skill during mere practice and the need for the intervention of planned professional refreshment. More recently, the public and their governments have insisted that various professions demonstrate their own responsibility for continuing education. This may account for the frequency of use of compulsion among professional groups in the very system that seem to have the least need of it to accomplish ends.

The price of high information efficiency internally seems to be the great difficulty of providing information outside the particular system, reminiscent of the situation we described as obtaining to formal compulsory schooling. Groups in this system maintain varying relationships with formal institutions of education and in many cases provide their own resources by hiring them or training them themselves. In many cases, such as within industry, they have developed their own cadre of instructors and educational administrators, most of whom have little contact with the other educators in the society. Obviously any rational system of continuing education must admit and indeed encourage the existence of sub-systems of this kind, but at the same time it must also develop means for greater access by the public to information about them and their methods and scale of operation.

2. Institutional Adjustment

By far the greatest attention in education and public concern has been given to institutional adjustment of various kinds. To a degree

1) Clarke and Sloan, Classrooms in Factories, An Account of Educational Activities Conducted by American Industry, Institute of Research, Fairleigh Dickinson University, Rutherford, New Jersey, United States, 1958.

one might argue that the institutions themselves have become a factor on the social needs side of the equation since many, particularly in the post-secondary area, can be seen to be actively recruiting students, that is bringing more and more adults into public learning. It is easy to attribute this to the fact that demographic changes, with the resulting drop in birth rates in all western countries after the immense surge of the immediate post-war period, have left all countries with substantial educational establishments that engender use. As the number of young from which they have traditionally drawn their student bodies declines, institutions are obliged to search elsewhere. The financial practices of some countries, such as Canada, which supplies a per capita method of financing with an amount per student which is innocent of discrimination with respect to age or conditions, presumably also contributes to the outward search. A more profound reason, however, a reason which encourages such financial support with such results, may be that the socialising function performed once in a lifetime by the youth and child-centred system is no longer adequate for societies in the grip of rapid change. Such socialisation must be performed more than once in the lifetime of most adults if the society is not to be destroyed by centripetal forces. Certainly a motive of this kind is apparent in all adult literacy programmes and there is no reason to suppose that it does not apply elsewhere. Essentially then, without being quite articulate about it, one of the functions of recurrent education systems and the institutions within it is to perform the task of resocialisation by bringing a greater proportion of adults into public learning. Perhaps this also accounts for the spread of compulsion on such a large scale.

The adjustment of institutions takes place in two ways. In contrast to the increased specialisation that is common to all the programme examples, what we note in all cases is greater co-operation between separate and sometimes competing institutions. This appears to be true with respect to the first of the kinds of adjustment which is an increasing attempt to spread information about offerings more and more widely and to penetrate many more sectors of society. It is also true with respect to the second, which is to alter the institutions' programmes internally so that more freedom can be given to individual learners who bring a wide variety of backgrounds, interests and conditions of learning in their train.

The adaptation of varying institutions to the wider needs of the adult population on a large scale has produced a great deal of confusion with respect to what they can or should offer and for whom. The careful selectivity of the pyramid grading system has been broken down in many countries. Individuals have no clear idea of which institution to approach for what, and in turn institutions have no clear idea of what to offer to which individual. The result with

respect to information about existing programmes is plain to see. What is less clearly understood is that institutions are no longer sure about which individuals or what information to listen to with respect to shaping their programmes. Post-secondary parallel systems such as have been introduced throughout North America with "community colleges" and in Britain with the Open University are prime examples of this confusion. The main benefit so far, especially noticeable in Great Britain, has been to make very clear the nature of information systems that have existed in the past and which have dominated the teaching institutions.

One of the results of external co-operation has been the development of a number of information systems in large metropolitan areas that involve the co-operation of all institutions and the centralising, sorting and reproduction of information in a single medium. Great Britain with its historically well developed voluntary sector in education pioneered this movement as educational choices became more complex. Organisations have appeared devoted entirely to providing information services of this kind and have been experimenting with store-front outlets for such information. There has been comparable though more localised and regionalised development in the United States. In metropolitan Toronto, Canada, the computer has been used in a unique educational service called MetroDoc.(1) In this case, information is collected about all available courses provided by all metropolitan agencies, such as universities, colleges, school boards, libraries and voluntary associations, sorted and organised and published several times a year. The publication is distributed to public libraries, education institutions, and other agencies. By and large, it seems to be highly effective and some thought is being given to adapting it in order to make it accessible to enrolment data, which would increase its value to programmers and administrators. What has, however, been so far partially unnoticed is that such collective systems carry with them an unavoidable evaluation function. If the agency or course is listed it must in some way have been approved as proper, legitimate, or at least ethical. While one need not expect the characteristics of a "Guide Michelin" to emerge, with starred ratings, we can expect that more attention will be drawn to such public evaluation in the future and that criteria of "legitimacy" will have to be worked out. As dependence on such information systems grows, the issues of freedom to learn and to teach will have to be debated again in this new context. A parallel experiment is represented by the Ontario Ministry of Education's "career information

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1) Ross, Instant Information on Continuing Education in Metro, Metro Information Centre on Continuing Education, Toronto, Canada, 1970.

service" which allows any individual to discover what educational requirements, steps and costs are involved in the pursuit of any career. Another similar experiment from the same city is to be found in "Learnex", sponsored by the Toronto Board of Education, where information regarding learning resources as a step beyond the provision of information about courses has been gathered, sorted and made available. Through Learnex any individual can search out the possessor of any skill or expertise in the test area and determine whether that person is willing to share such expertise and at what price. These developments are matched in kind in many cities and towns in North America and Great Britain, though we are not aware of others quite so highly developed. A European example presumably is to be found in the Association of Finnish Cities and Towns which is used as a vehicle for the exchange of educational information.(1) Presumably there are other co-operative endeavours of this kind.

These undertakings present two kinds of problems. One problem is that they are almost always limited in locality and usually urban-based. The British services seem an exception on both these counts, though there is still a heavy urban concentration. There seems no reason why given existing computer technology, any distance cannot be included and with multiple sources of input and output. The second problem is that these are essentially "wholesale" information services requiring greater development at the retail level. The choice of metaphor is perhaps unfortunate but more centres of easy access and counselling are clearly needed if such systems are to be properly exploited. It is clear as well that counselling is as good as the information services to which it has access, so that at least in some areas more of these sources are easily available.

The second type of adjustment, that of internal change in terms of courses and programmes, is to be found in such undertakings as the University of Toulouse's Université du troisième âge, the British Open University, and the great variety of programmes identified by the American Commission on Non-Traditional Study.(2) In some instances, new institutions or, as is more often the case, groups of them, are offering new programmes highly individually tailored and widely distributed in space. In these cases, the traditional demand for membership, as represented by residence of some kind, has been sacrificed to provide an ability to include greater ranges of people and more varieties of student or learning roles. What is in fact being communicated is novel and widely diverse information about what it means to

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1) Johansson, The Association of Finnish Cities and Towns, Adult Education in Finland, 10:1 5-6, 1973.

2) Diversity by Design, Commission on Non-Traditional Study, Jossey-Bass, London, 1973;
C.O. Houle, The External Degree, Jossey-Bass, London, 1973.

be a student, information that often surprises the institution as often as it surprises the individual candidate. Here again, we see the difficulty of consistently or sharply distinguishing information about educational programmes and opportunities from the opportunities themselves. Room is being made for the enlargement of the dialogue so that the learner is encouraged to provide far more education about himself or herself than is the case in more traditional programmes where that information is taken for granted.

The major issue presented by these programmes, particularly for the more traditional institutions, is whether the information exchange is sufficient enough to allow for a proper evaluation or certification of the student. There is concern that not only is a measure of thoroughness in the process likely to be lacking, but some aspect of common institution content is lost as well, making it impossible to provide for the element of membership that distinguishes the degree of one institution from the degree of another. At the present time, there appears to be no precise way to draw conclusions in this matter and the argument tends to turn on preference and a commitment to ritual or the lack of it. As the Report of the Commission says, "Most of us agreed that non-traditional study is more an attitude than a system and therefore can never be defined except tangentially. This attitude puts the student first and the institution second, concentrates more on the former's need than the latter's conveniences, encourages diversity of individual opportunity rather than uniform prescription, and de-emphasizes time, space, and even course requirements in favour of competence and where applicable performance. It has concern for the learner of any age and circumstance for the degree aspirant as well as the person who finds sufficient reward in enriching life through constant or periodic or occasional study. This attitude is not new, it is simply more prevalent than it used to be. It can stimulate exciting and high-quality educational process; it can also, unless great care is taken to protect the freedom it offers, be the unwitting means to a lessening of academic rigor and even charlatanism."(1)

Whatever the concerns, it is apparent that the new demands could not be resisted, nor could they be fulfilled by existing systems however much enlarged. Presumably, what is now happening is the learning by both students and institutions of what precise care must be taken and how. It is also apparent that the important consideration is the underlying information systems as related to what may or may not be essential in being a student of any kind.

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1) Diversity by Design, op.cit.

Before leaving this area, it is necessary to comment on one further aspect of information in education which is in considerable dispute at present. This is the area of evaluation and the means of communicating this evaluation across geographical, social and psychological distances. In the long run, effective evaluation of an individual by himself and by others is the object of the entire learning enterprise. The purposes of such evaluation vary in degree of precision and substance, but the act is common to all such enterprises. In societies where educational systems are relatively simple, both in terms of the range of institutions and the range of programmes, the system of communication of information about competence or performance is simple as well as somewhat brutal. The much debated British "eleven-plus" examination is one classic example. The brutality becomes more evident and oppressive as the complexity of the society and the spaces over which this sort of information has to be communicated outstrip the learning system as systems grow more complex, especially as systems of life-long education introduce temporal aspects of successful achievements, something of the nature of vintages, the problems become nearly insurmountable. None of the conventional marks of achievement, nor the newly introduced ones, mean much that is explicit to the owners or users. Operating agencies with sufficient scale of resources introduce new evaluation systems tied as closely as possible to the precise tasks involved. The result leads to a new series of recommendations, occurring in several parts of the world, that in fact teaching institutions have no business providing public evaluation of any kind and that certification is the responsibility of the practising body. While teaching institutions for a variety of reasons are loathe to surrender such power, what is happening everywhere is the growing acceptance that detailed evaluation is a matter between the individual and the institutions alone, and that it is the sole right of the individual to determine to whom such an evaluation can be communicated. This practice fits in with other individual rights in most societies and is now being generally established.

3. New Services

Some of these new services, such as personal services with respect to sharing evaluations and employment opportunities, have already been discussed. However, it will be obvious by now that one new service predominates in all these developments, both in the extent of introduction and experimentation and the extent of confusion regarding its proper function, performance, and evaluation. That new service is adult counselling. It is in this area that the unique quality of the learning enterprise in any society makes its clearest impression. While we can provide an analysis of the counselling function, we are

often hard-pressed to distinguish it from the provision of the educational service itself.

Counselling clearly makes its appearance in all special programmes and in almost all institutional undertakings (1) as an essential part of the initial and continuing contact of the adult with the learning enterprise. Through it are focused problems of self-assessment, common experience, relevant alternatives and aspirations. Stock,(2) in describing the remarkable growth of such service in the United Kingdom in recent years, differentiates three functions: advice, guidance and counselling. He points out that it is difficult, if not impossible, to know which one any new client needs at the point of entry, thus making it necessary to provide all three at the same place. He also acknowledges that one function easily if not inevitably grows out of the other. As we have pointed out, almost all institutions and all special programmes become involved in counselling within their own precincts. However, it is of the greatest importance to note that such counselling becomes available to the client only within a narrow range of special conditions or after he or she has made the initial step of entering the institution. In terms of our earlier analysis, this means that to the great many who find difficulty in imagining themselves in a student role and therefore are apprehensive about entering the institution, such services are simply not perceived to be available. For this reason, much experiment has taken place in the United Kingdom and in the Federal Republic of Germany as well as in the United States and Canada, in putting counselling services into familiar public places and separating them entirely from specific institutions. The Ontario Commission Report (3) recommended the creation of an entirely separate administrative unit to be called a Human Resources Commission to administer counselling service in public places all over the province. The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education is experimenting with a local information unit in a large

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1) Thoroman, The Vocational Counselling of Adults and Young Adults, Counselling and the Junior College, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1968, pp. 165-177;
Halas, All-Women's Groups: A View from the Inside, Personnel and Guidance Journal, October 1973, pp. 91-95;
Pressey, Age Counselling, Crises, Services, Potential, Journal of Counselling Psychology, July 1973, pp. 356-360;
The Dynamics of Life Skills Coaching, Training Research and Development Station, Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, Canada.

2) A. Stock, Guidance and Counselling Services for Adults in the United Kingdom, National Institute for Adult Education, London, 1973;
See also D.J. Ironside and Jacobs, Trends in Counselling and Information Services for the Adult Learner, OISE, Toronto, 1977.

3) The Learning Society, Report of the Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario, Ministry of Government Services, Toronto, 1972.

shopping centre. Such experimentation in most countries is just beginning and it is not known yet whether such generalised services will work without the immediate association with the members of a group or with a specific educational institution, both of which carry some of the qualities of membership. They will probably need a clearly defined neighbourhood in order to survive or they will have to depend to a large degree on group counselling.

Secondly, there is little clear definition as to what is meant or needed in terms of counselling. Stock's division is clearly illustrated by the organisation of counselling and information service in the Canada Manpower Centres, already described. Whether that is a pattern for all other generalised centres remains to be seen, Obviously a variety of approaches will have to be made, approaches that will allow relatively simple training for full and part-time counsellors because of the huge potential volume of clients. There is need for a considerably more public discussion and sharing of information and experience in this rapidly growing area of service.

Finally, it is important to repeat the observation of the mixed roles counselling units play in their own institutions and programmes. If they can only listen and reply with prescribed advice without any influence on the determination of programmes based on what they hear, it is not surprising that their role will be limited, and that in some cases they are regarded sceptically as pacification units. Much experimentation and discussion is needed with respect to means of making such units genuine vehicles for two-way dialogues.

Throughout this paper we have utilised a general metaphor which serves to codify the way in which human potential for learning operates in any society. All individuals have needs, some of which will be translated into the need to learn something, to change in some way. Further, under some circumstances that which is identified as a need to learn will be translated into a more explicit educational need which will express itself in an attempt to enrol in some course in some educational or quasi-educational agency. Similarly, societies have needs some of which are translated into or identified as the need for certain segments of the population to learn something, which in turn may be translated into educational needs which express themselves in the provision of educational resources of various kinds and attempts at recruitment. Throughout the paper we have cited various examples of both the individual and collective systems at work. However, over the past twenty years, it has become apparent that the ways in which these translations or identifications are being carried out has meant that predictable individuals or groups of individuals do most of the translating of general needs into learning and educational needs and demand the major share of the enrolment, while similarly the society's attempts at recruitment seem

to reach only the same predictable groups. Some groups do not translate need into learning or educational need, and no matter how hard we try we do not seem able to recruit them. We shall not repeat the argument as to why one should try to recruit them, but continue to examine the problems associated with doing so.

The problem of the precise relationship between the likelihood of a specific individual identifying a need as a learning need, and the society's attempt to recruit for educational purposes is complex, and we have argued that the handling of information about educational activities lies at the heart of it.

Most of the studies of such information handling stem from the concerns of the recruiting agencies' attempts to reach more and different people. Only recently have we begun to understand what problems the individual faces at the point of identifying a need as an educational need capable of solution or satisfaction by some educational activity.

The first conclusion that one must come to from both sorts of studies is that the decision is a highly individual matter. In this sense, individual means intimate, since it is clear that each individual as well as considering the personal circumstances, which will include all previous educational experience, will also consult persistently with his or her peers. Education is not successfully participated in by "masses" nor is it realised by "mass" campaigns of recruitment. The only exception to that statement might be in relationship to a short-term educational endeavour related to an "event" as described previously in this paper. What this suggests, therefore, is the need to pay considerably more attention to why the individual should participate from the individual's point of view rather than from the society's or the recruiting agency's perspective. Such consideration must inevitably take into account not merely the condition or circumstance of the individual in question, but also the individual's own perception of his or her needs and goals. This, in turn, means that the recruiting agency will have to consider a mutual alteration of the programme being provided as well as simply information about that programme.

Secondly, it is clear that recruiting agencies convey either more or less than they are aware of conveying. What is often invisible to the agency is the range of conditions and behaviour that attend upon being a "student" and that are involved in "learning" something in a consistent manner. Most "teaching" agencies and the groups that habitually support them take this behaviour so for granted as to be largely unconscious of the fact that it represents a major obstacle to those who are not accustomed to such participation. Until recently, with the gradual appearance of counselling centres, which to a large degree specialise in assisting with these skills, the problem of

learning how to be a student was the major distinction between habitual participants and habitual non-participants. Any examination of most of the information material produced by most agencies indicated that it was only relevant to those who could imagine themselves being a "student" and therefore considered the opportunities of the agency as relevant to their needs.

Finally, to repeat a point, it is clear that if they genuinely wish to recruit from among those groups that have habitually not participated, educational agencies must alter themselves in many respects, but in the sense that a degree of mutual exchange is possible between them and the intended or potential students. It is quite clear that such a mutuality exists and has existed between those agencies and those who already participate in them. The question remains as to the degree to which that mutuality is exclusive in the sense that it cannot contain the introduction of new and competing goals and practices. In the cases in which that is bound to be true the society, if it wishes to survive, has no alternative but to create new agencies, as many have done in recent years, for example, the dramatic introduction of "community colleges" in many western societies. However, it does appear that the need to review the inclusiveness of all adult education agencies is a perennial one, since the short history of the colleges in some of these societies suggests the tendency of all educational agencies no matter at what point they are introduced to become increasingly exclusive over a period of time.

Finally, we should like to re-emphasize the mutuality of disadvantage. We argued earlier that those who are included in the major affairs of any society lose from the fact that there are many who are not. They lose the imagination, energy and experience of those who do not take part for whatever reason. A brief glimpse of the history of adult education in several of the societies in question suggests that those societies benefited, often dramatically, by the sudden inclusion of substantial groups of people who had not been included before, and that this benefit was often greatest when that inclusion took place by means of the educational system. The purpose of any mature system of adult or continued education in any society, knowing that one hundred per cent participation is neither possible nor desirable, should be continually seeking to change the balance of participation. The intelligent sensitive handling of educational information is one of the keys to that achievement.

CONCLUSION

This study has explored the elaboration of adult learning systems in a variety of countries from the point of view of problems of

information and their solution. It is important to point out firmly that the diffuseness of the problems has made it exceedingly difficult to gather accurate information about the handling of such problems from very many countries, itself a problem of information. What we have gathered seems to indicate that it is a widespread problem and that many countries are tackling it in various ways, though not always in the same terms.

We believe that we have established the fact that the problem of information handling is a decisive one for all systems of learning and that it occurs predominantly at the point when compulsory attendance ceases. The fact that this practice may cease entirely in the near future at all levels of education makes the issue that much more crucial.

The fact has also been established that the problem of information with respect to learning and education is unique to that enterprise and cannot be dealt with by borrowing, consciously or unconsciously, information practices and techniques from other social and economic enterprises. In analysing current developments in recurrent education, it is possible to see what the unique characteristics are and to utilise them more consciously and effectively.

Finally, we believe that, while some education endeavours are really endeavours in information handling and others are clearly defined by the information problems involved, those administering recurrent education systems have not sufficiently analysed or attended to such problems and their solutions. None of the rapidly emerging systems of lifelong education will grow in efficiency, inclusiveness or justice if these problems are not understood.

LE FACTEUR "INFORMATION"

RESUME

La thèse sur laquelle repose la présente étude est que l'information joue un rôle décisif dans l'offre de programmes d'éducation pour adultes, notamment en contribuant pour une part non négligeable au déséquilibre actuel de la participation selon les groupes sociaux. Les adultes défavorisés n'ont tout simplement pas conscience qu'en participant à des activités éducatives, ils pourraient résoudre plus facilement certaines de leurs difficultés et mèneraient une vie plus riche. Cette inconscience est directement imputable aux méthodes d'information actuelles en matière d'éducation. Or l'importance cruciale de l'information n'est pas pleinement comprise.

L'information doit déclencher une réponse qui se situe à deux niveaux : d'une part, il faut que les besoins de l'individu se traduisent par des exigences éducatives et que ces exigences se traduisent à leur tour par une participation effective de l'individu à l'éducation et d'autre part, il faut que l'organisme dispensateur parvienne à recruter des participants. C'est parce qu'une distinction n'a pas été établie entre ces deux niveaux de réponse que les efforts qui ont été faits pour fournir une information utile se sont dans bien des cas soldés par un échec.

Tous les individus éprouvent des besoins, dont certains s'exprimeront sous la forme du désir de s'instruire et d'évoluer. En outre, il arrive parfois que ce qui est ressenti comme le désir de s'instruire prenne la forme d'un besoin éducatif plus explicite qui se concrétisera par une démarche pour s'inscrire à un cours assuré par un établissement d'enseignement ou une institution semi-éducative. La société a, elle aussi, des besoins dont certains s'expriment ou sont perçus comme le besoin de s'instruire pour certains éléments de la population, lequel besoin pourra prendre à son tour la forme d'exigences éducatives qui se traduiront par la mise en place de moyens d'enseignement divers et par des tentatives pour recruter des élèves. Or, on s'est aperçu que depuis une vingtaine d'années les modes d'expression ou de perception de ces besoins sont tels que ce sont des individus ou des groupes prévisibles qui, la plupart du temps, expriment des besoins généraux sous forme de besoins éducatifs et qui constituent le gros des effectifs inscrits et que ce sont, semble-t-il, exclusivement ces mêmes groupes que la société parvient à recruter. D'autres groupes n'expriment pas leurs besoins sous forme d'exigences éducatives et quelle que soit

l'énergie déployée par les organismes chargés de l'éducation des adultes, ces derniers ne semblent pas être en mesure de s'assurer leur participation. Quelles sont les difficultés en jeu?

Tout d'abord le rapport exact entre la probabilité qu'un individu perçoive son besoin comme étant celui de s'instruire et la tentative faite par la société pour le faire participer à des activités éducatives est difficile à préciser. L'utilisation de l'information en matière d'éducation est au coeur même de ce problème.

L'analyse de l'utilisation de l'information est dictée, la plupart du temps, par le souci des organismes à vocation éducative d'atteindre un public non seulement plus nombreux mais largement représentatif de toutes les couches de la société. Ces organismes commencent seulement à comprendre à quelles difficultés se heurte l'individu lorsqu'il s'agit pour lui de reconnaître l'existence d'un besoin qu'il pourra satisfaire en participant à une activité éducative.

La première conclusion à tirer de ces deux types d'analyse est que la décision à prendre à cet égard est strictement personnelle. En l'occurrence, "personnelle" signifie "intime" car il est bien évident que, tout en prenant en considération sa vie personnelle, y compris son bagage de connaissances, l'individu consultera aussi toujours ses relations. Ce ne sont pas les masses qui participent à l'éducation et ce ne sont pas les campagnes "massives" de recrutement qui inciteront les gens à suivre un enseignement. Il faudrait par conséquent se préoccuper davantage des raisons pour lesquelles l'individu doit participer à l'éducation en se plaçant de son propre point de vue et non de celui de la société ou de l'organisme qui dispense un enseignement. Ce faisant, il faudra obligatoirement tenir compte non seulement de la situation de l'intéressé mais aussi de la perception qu'il a de ses besoins et de ses objectifs. Cela implique que l'organisme à vocation éducative ne se borne pas à fournir des renseignements sur le programme de cours qu'il assure, mais envisage d'adapter ce programme selon une formule convenue mutuellement.

Par ailleurs, il est évident qu'en cherchant à recruter des élèves, les organismes communiquent davantage ou moins d'informations qu'ils ne le pensent. Ce qui bien souvent leur échappe, ce sont les diverses conditions et le comportement qui sont liés à la qualité d'"élève" et qu'implique le fait de suivre régulièrement un "enseignement". La plupart des organismes à vocation éducative et des groupes qui les soutiennent d'ordinaire trouvent ce comportement si naturel qu'ils ne se rendent guère compte qu'il y a là un obstacle majeur pour des gens qui ne sont pas habitués à recevoir un enseignement. Tout récemment encore, ce qui distinguait les participants habituels des non-participants habituels, c'était surtout la capacité d'apprendre le rôle d'élève, jusqu'à ce qu'apparaissent progressivement des centres d'orientation dont la vocation essentielle est de développer cette capacité. On a constaté qu'une grande partie de la documentation

d'information publiée par la plupart des organismes ne présentait un intérêt que pour les individus qui pouvaient s'imaginer dans le rôle d'"élève" et qui pouvaient donc considérer l'enseignement proposé par l'organisme en question comme correspondant à leurs besoins.

Il est évident que s'ils veulent vraiment recruter des élèves parmi les groupes qui d'ordinaire ne suivent aucun enseignement, les organismes assurant des cours pour adultes devront changer de comportement sur bien des points, surtout afin de veiller à ce que s'instaure un échange réciproque avec leurs élèves potentiels ou ceux qu'ils cherchent à atteindre. Cette réciprocité existe déjà entre les organismes à vocation éducative et les adultes qui participent à leurs programmes. Il reste à savoir dans quelle mesure cette réciprocité a un caractère exclusif au point d'interdire toutes visées et pratiques nouvelles ou rivales. Lorsque c'est le cas, la société n'a d'autre choix que de créer de nouveaux organismes, c'est ainsi que de nombreux centres d'éducation populaire ("community colleges") ont été institués ces dernières années. Cependant, il est toujours aussi nécessaire, semble-t-il, d'examiner dans quelle mesure tous les organismes dispensant un enseignement pour adultes ont une optique générale car, dans certains pays, les centres d'éducation populaire de création récente manifestent déjà une tendance, courante parmi toutes les institutions éducatives, quelle que soit l'époque à laquelle elles sont créées, à prendre à la longue un caractère de plus en plus exclusif.

Enfin, il faut souligner que l'existence de groupes défavorisés nuit à toute la société. Ceux qui prennent part aux affaires de la collectivité dans toute société perdent quelque chose du fait que beaucoup n'y participent pas. Ce qu'ils perdent, c'est l'imagination, le dynamisme et l'expérience de ceux qui restent en marge, pour quelque raison que ce soit. Il suffit de jeter un coup d'oeil sur l'histoire de l'éducation des adultes dans les pays de l'OCDE pour s'apercevoir que l'éducation des adultes a été bénéfique pour celles des sociétés qui ont pu s'assurer la participation de groupes composés de beaucoup de gens qui, auparavant, n'avaient jamais joué de rôle dans la société. Un système d'éducation des adultes ou d'éducation permanente bien conçu, qui reconnaît qu'une participation à cent pour cent n'est ni possible ni souhaitable, devrait avoir pour objectif de modifier constamment la composition des participants. Une utilisation intelligente et nuancée de l'information en matière d'éducation est l'un des moyens qui permettrait d'y parvenir.

Dans la planification et le fonctionnement de grands programmes d'éducation des adultes, on néglige souvent le système d'information clair et direct dont disposent les établissements scolaires. Il ne sera peut-être pas nécessaire ni possible de recourir à un système aussi étroitement circonscrit pour l'éducation des adultes, mais on

n'a guère réfléchi aux différences qui existent entre les systèmes d'information et aux conséquences qui en découlent.

Premièrement, il serait utile d'examiner certains des effets des systèmes d'information scolaires sur le comportement des adultes. Tout d'abord, les chefs d'établissements n'ont pas l'habitude des techniques d'information ou de communication applicables hors du cadre scolaire. Ils utilisent le système d'information efficace mis en place dans l'école, mais ils voient rarement la nécessité de l'adapter à la situation des adultes qui vont fréquenter l'établissement. En règle générale, ils s'en remettent aux méthodes et moyens d'information les plus courants qu'ils connaissent le mieux. Par ces procédés, ils n'atteignent que les adultes qui sont les plus enclins à tirer parti de cette information. La tendance croissante que manifestent les spécialistes de l'éducation des adultes à s'adresser à des agences de publicité pour atteindre ou recruter un plus grand nombre d'élèves illustre bien ce manque d'expérience. A notre avis, ce qui attire les élèves, c'est la publicité.

Deuxièmement, à mesure que l'élève avance dans sa scolarité, il se trouve confronté à des programmes, des filières, des possibilités de carrière et des qualifications de plus en plus complexes qui ne semblent avoir qu'un rapport lointain avec ce qui se passe en dehors de l'école. Il prend ainsi l'habitude de ne chercher à s'informer que dans l'établissement qu'il fréquente ou dans le cadre du système scolaire et seulement auprès d'autorités ou de détenteurs d'informations aisément identifiables - enseignants ou conseillers - ou, plus souvent encore, de recevoir les renseignements de bouche à oreille que lui communiquent ses camarades de classe. Même une fois achevée sa scolarité obligatoire, à mesure qu'il maîtrise le système scolaire, il a coutume de ne rechercher les renseignements dont il a besoin que dans ce système et auprès de ses camarades. Il a donc une habitude et une expérience fort limitées de la recherche d'informations. Il n'apprend guère à exploiter celles qui existent en dehors de l'école. Ceux dont l'expérience scolaire est brève ou négative ou les deux à la fois, ou encore qui croient que l'éducation se limite à l'enfance et à l'adolescence, en viennent à conclure que l'information en matière d'éducation concerne exclusivement l'école et les tout débuts de la vie.

Troisièmement, les adultes acquièrent le réflexe conditionné de choisir d'abord une institution ou un organisme avant d'opter pour un programme ou un cours. Ce qui dicte leur choix, c'est la dernière institution éducative ou le dernier organisme avec lequel ils ont été en contact. Si, par exemple, un adulte a un niveau d'instruction inférieur au niveau de fin d'études secondaires, il s'adressera au conseil de l'établissement en question ou aux autorités locales chargées de l'enseignement au moment de décider de poursuivre ses études.

Ce comportement tient à des raisons pratiques évidentes, notamment au souci de prestige, au sentiment d'irréversibilité engendré par un système hiérarchisé et pyramidal et au simple fait de connaître l'établissement. Mais le facteur sous-jacent, c'est l'accès à l'information. Il y a dans le choix de l'organisme en premier lieu un relent d'appartenance à une société semi-secrète qui est censée limiter à ses membres l'accès à une information complète et se borner à transmettre de simples suggestions à ceux qui se situent hors de son orbite. C'est, semble-t-il, ce qui se passe pour les individus les moins instruits même lorsqu'il s'agit d'un organisme semi-éducatif.

Le problème de l'utilisation de l'information est crucial pour tous les systèmes d'enseignement et revêt toute son acuité, une fois terminée la scolarité obligatoire.

Ce n'est pas en empruntant consciemment ou non des pratiques et des méthodes à d'autres activités économiques et sociales que l'on parviendra à bien manier l'information en matière d'apprentissage et d'éducation.

Certaines entreprises éducatives sont de véritables entreprises d'information, tandis que d'autres se caractérisent par les problèmes d'information qu'elles mettent en jeu; or, les responsables de l'administration des systèmes d'éducation des adultes n'ont pas suffisamment analysé ni abordé ces problèmes pour y trouver des solutions. Tant que ceux-ci n'auront pas été compris, aucun des systèmes d'éducation récurrente et permanente qui commencent à se multiplier, ne parviendra à croître en efficacité, en ouverture sur la société ni en équité.

VII

THE FINANCIAL IMPLICATIONS

by Keith Drake

INTRODUCTION

The financial dimension of educational policies to assist disadvantaged adults has been curiously neglected. Commissions and working parties, insofar as they deal with this subject at all, normally consider financial issues in narrow sectoral terms. They seem relatively unconcerned about the absence of an appropriate framework of analysis within which to examine the evidence on costs and benefits. Proposals are usually limited to tinkering with financial mechanisms and exhortations to taxing bodies to spend more money on certain favoured projects. Recommendations are essentially ad hoc. They are not integrated within a consistent framework of social policy analysis but floating in a policy vacuum.

Financial arrangements should take account of the incidence of both costs and benefits. Benefits from adult education which are captured by individuals are not well documented. An even greater problem is the identification of those benefits which spill over to others besides the direct beneficiary - the learner. Adult education yields many benefits for which it is not feasible to charge, and for this reason, amongst others, governments have intervened to add to the resources available through the market. In turn, this intervention has influenced the distribution of non-government finance, so that a government view as to the desirable level and pattern of resources in aid of adult learning has to encompass all resources susceptible to influence, not merely government subventions.

Many detailed questions can only be answered with knowledge of the policy goals, financial structures and socio-economic conditions of each country:

- What is the present distribution of benefits from education among the adult population?
- What is the pattern of private demand for adult education at prevailing prices?
- What is the preferred pattern, and by what revisions of financial arrangements might this be achieved?

- What would be the likely consequences of such a revision for economic growth, for the lifetime consumption profiles of the people, and for the social fabric?
- What proportions of finance for adult education now come from and in future should come from government, corporate and private sources?
- What criteria should determine the distribution of this financial burden?

Questions like these point to the kinds of data which are needed to make judgements about policy options. The data are not exclusively financial, but this hardly excuses the neglect of financial issues. It is clearly desirable to assess programmes as far as possible in terms of likely reductions in disadvantage per unit of public funds and per unit of resources employed, as well as in terms of a valuation of likely benefits to the disadvantaged and to society. But a third, distributive, criterion is necessary because it may be a great deal easier to achieve large and measurable improvements in the fortunes of one disadvantaged group than another. It matters who gains and by how much. It might not be acceptable to lift the incomes of the richest fifth of the poor above the poverty line but fail to improve the lot of the poorer poor. It might not be acceptable to finance such a gain in social welfare by means of an increase in regressive taxation. The history of educational expenditures in OECD countries yields many examples of educational provision in which, whatever the policy intentions, the net effect of the incidence of costs and benefits favoured the most advantaged. For a policy in favour of the disadvantaged adult to be effective, careful attention to the financial arrangements not only before but during the lifetime of that policy is a vital requirement.

THE MANAGEMENT OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND

Disadvantage is relative. Policies to remedy disadvantage necessarily shift advantage and disadvantage between persons. Access to resources will always be unequally distributed unless access is solely determined by chance. This holds for adult education, where the formal and informal allocative rules favour some people and penalise others. The actual distributive practices of any country define as disadvantaged people who lack certain knowledge, skills and values. These same practices disadvantage those with certain ineradicable personal characteristics, e.g. of race, sex or age, or those in particular social positions, e.g. as defined by income, occupation, social class, religious affiliation or geography.

To change the rules by widening access is to affect a whole pattern of public and private choices. For individuals, as for

governments, to spend is to choose. But governments have a powerful influence on the complex structure of property rights over scarce resources which constrains the way in which individuals choose to spend disposable time or disposable income. When governments alter the terms of access to these resources there are implications for public and private budgets as well as for the distribution of resources and incomes between individuals.

It is convenient to distinguish between alterations in the financial and non-financial devices which are the means of such public interventions and the consequences for budgets and resources which follow from a revision of this structure of property rights. The first set of alterations concerns terms of access to learning opportunities and educational resources. These terms of access are embodied in explicit and implicit prices, in grants and in rules. They are not the subject of this paper, but the revision of these terms is assumed in order to unravel some of the financial implications of changing the pattern of government intervention in the demand for and supply of resources for adult learning.

MANAGING THE DEMAND FOR ADULT EDUCATION

Private demand for teaching services is managed directly through the manipulation of explicit rationing devices, e.g. course fees and access rules, and of implicit rationing devices, e.g. the scale and incidence of earnings and leisure foregone. Reduction or payment of fees, grants to offset lost earnings, substitution of day-release for evening classes, paid educational leave, all such devices to aid the disadvantaged raise the level of public or corporate expenditures unless they can be compensated by proportionate increases in revenue from the advantaged. The responsiveness of private demand to increases in explicit or implicit prices is the critical measure. There are two strategies available for changing the composition of the clientele in favour of the disadvantaged while maintaining total fee revenue, i.e. the contribution to costs from consumers' disposable incomes rather than taxation. One strategy requires much more thorough price discrimination than is usually to be found. It is possible to increase prices very considerably with certain clients who are fairly insensitive to such price changes. The increased financial contribution from these clients can then be used to offset much lower prices to disadvantaged groups, achieving cross-subsidy without recourse to the tax system. However, this will not be possible when a supplying agency faces a homogeneous price-sensitivity amongst clients or cannot easily distinguish between them. Then the strategy is to leave money prices unchanged, but to alter scheduling, location and even course format and content to reduce the implicit

price to the disadvantaged. Whatever the pricing strategy, when the net financial effect on the public budget is calculated, any net increase has to be financed from the increased product of an unchanged level of taxation, increased taxation, or a reduction in expenditure elsewhere in education or non-education budgets.

Private demand is also managed indirectly, e.g. by government using its influence as an employer or its influence in shaping patterns of employment and the course of economic development with particular consequences for the demand for labour and, derived from that, for adult education. Government actions as employer or planner of economic development are not going to be determined, in the first instance, by the consequential demand for adult education. Nevertheless, government actions cannot disregard these consequences because government policy in the labour market and economic planning can nullify the effectiveness of policy towards the disadvantaged and ensure the wastefulness of related public expenditure.

Compensatory policies in favour of disadvantaged adults result in direct public expenditures, but also in constraints on government employment and planning actions. These constraints are not costless. In member countries they have increasingly affected hiring and firing policies, and policies towards industrial location and the composition of industrial activity. Cost to the public purse or in the return on a country's resources defies quantification except in specific instances, e.g. employment of a minimum proportion of an ethnic minority or of the physically disabled in a factory, or payment of equal wages to women. Any of these modifications might, for a while, slightly lower labour productivity and damage corporate profitability while enhancing job expectations and therefore motivation towards appropriate educational achievement in the affected group.

However, the financial consequences of education-oriented constraints on employment and planning policies could, in the longer term, be favourable. There are probably some short-term costs of the kind indicated above, and some direct public expenditures to help target groups to overcome the high costs of job search. But a compensatory educational policy for adults, e.g. an adult literacy programme, could well produce significant offsetting reductions in public expenditure and avoid some misemployment of resources.

MANAGING THE SUPPLY OF ADULT EDUCATION

The financial and economic implications of widening access to not arise only from changes in government management of demand for adult education. Educational development is more obviously affected by the way in which governments manage the supply of education. This is directly done by spending tax revenues on the provision of teaching

services and subsidising provision by other agencies. Indirectly, supply is managed by price and regulatory interventions in learner-teacher transactions. These interventions influence the willingness of non-government bodies and of individuals to supply would-be learners with resources in aid of learning.

Increased provision is implicit in wider access for the disadvantaged, unless a proportionate reduction in provision for the advantaged is envisaged. This raises a number of related issues, but especially:

1. the division of the financial burden between government, corporations, voluntary bodies and individuals; and
2. sources of extra funds.

In Member countries, adult education is jointly financed from a complex of taxation, general or earmarked, final product prices and disposable household income. There is a sense, of course, in which all resources in aid of learning are directly or indirectly paid for by households, if not by direct money outlays like purchases, fee payments and subscriptions to educational associations, then indirectly through the prices of goods and services and direct taxation. But plurality of financing modes is generally thought to be politically and psychologically important.

The division of the financing burden varies not only from country to country but even from scheme to scheme within one country. One correct formula for this mix is not to be expected given the variety of political, cultural and psychological circumstances. The right formula is the one which elicits an adequate supply of resources, which, in turn, suggests that it is to be discovered by experiment rather than by theorising. However, except where the objectives are clearly such that non-government bodies and individuals could see no interest in paying to achieve them, one approach to increased provision might be to regard the role of public expenditure as pioneering rather than residual. That is to say, public expenditure might be regarded as pump-priming and designed to elicit responsive non-government expenditures, instead of being a fall-back upon which firms, voluntary bodies and individuals become increasingly reliant. The community interest in educational provision is so strong and pervasive that the basic purpose of public expenditure on education cannot be regarded as being to teach people how to do without it. Nevertheless, except for the important expenditure category already mentioned, a case can be made for encouraging people, as much as possible, to fund their own learning.

The more educated and better-off people are usually willing to and do use a larger proportion of disposable income on educational expenditures than the less educated. Widening access to those for whom public learning it not a habit may initially require a high ratio of public to non-public expenditures. But, as target groups of adults

are gradually brought into public learning, this ratio may be susceptible to alteration, at least to the extent that the programmes are successful in raising incomes, changing attitudes and household expenditure patterns.

The argument is not

1. that unless people contribute significantly from their own purses they do not value properly the sum of the resources to which they gain access, nor
2. that, without this contribution, they cannot have real choice or exercise effective influence on the allocation of resources.

Both arguments depend on the conversion of a possible into a necessary consequence, and can be refuted by reference to the best practice of health or education services in Member countries.

The argument is a purely expedient one, that public budgets are everywhere beset by multiple and pressing claims for more public expenditure but no increases in taxation. In this situation it is not enough to argue the range and scale of public and private benefits from increased provision for the disadvantaged. It is essential to exploit the possibilities of the tradition of joint public and non-public financing in adult education. This means that, wherever possible, expansion of provision is engineered so that particular commitments of public money, if not self-liquidating, have a real chance of becoming a reducing share of total finance.

In practice, any widening of access tends to have financial implications for the adult learners as well as for the supplying agencies because few schemes reimburse people 100 per cent for the expenses of learning, never mind for earnings opportunities foregone. Many disadvantaged adults, e.g. the unemployed who are unskilled, or illiterates, come from a cultural background where there is no habit of educational expenditures. Its absence does not, in itself, reveal anything about attitudes to educational opportunity, especially if this is seen to be clearly relevant to improved job prospects. It may be desirable, from the public budget viewpoint, that adult learners should come to allocate an increased proportion of household expenditure to adult learning, i.e. increase self-investment on education. But this is feasible only if it is done <u>very gradually</u>, thus avoiding a self-defeating reaction against an activity which anyway involves a very heavy price in time and effort. A financial regime which pays insufficient attention to the non-financial costs facing adult learners may fail to achieve objectives for that reason alone.

Many disadvantaged adults have a strong wish to learn, but this is more clearly measured by what they are prepared to forego than by the proportion of money income which they currently devote to educational purposes. Adult illiterates are willing to sacrifice over-

time opportunities to achieve literacy, the physically handicapped forswear leisure and devote large proportions of their time to the painful acquisition of basic skill needed for further learning. Public expenditure can unlock this powerful urge to invest time and, once it is raised, income. The obstacles to increase self-investment are seen to be institutional and surmountable.

Voluntary bodies can contribute only because of the subscriptions of individuals and government grants, but firms represent a significantly different source of finance from either taxation or direct personal expenditure. The financing role of firms in adult education has never been as well documented as its magnitude requires. But it has clearly grown to great importance under the influence of three different forces:

1. perceived financial benefit to the firm;
2. philanthropy in the tradition of Carnegie, Nuffield or Volkswagen;
3. statutory and non-statutory pressure from government.

Some firms, not necessarily the largest, have appreciated the range of possible benefits to the firm from increased expenditure on the least-educated and most casual members of their labour force, e.g. in terms of reduced labour turnover and better labour productivity as much as in more direct and obvious increases in labour productivity from improving job skills. Generalisation of this appreciation would probably increase the level of corporate finance for adult education. Equally important, it would help to counteract the relative neglect of the least-educated workers which seems to occur whether governments in effect earmark corporate taxation or simply impose obligations and leave the level and method of finance open to firms.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PROGRAMME PLANNING

How the money is spent is as important as how much is spent. If public, corporate and personal budgets are to yield more money for adult learning, the increase must come out of any annual increment or from other heads of expenditure. In the fierce competition for public resources the cost-effectiveness of aiding the disadvantaged, in pursuit of economic growth or equity, cannot always be guaranteed in advance. Access to educational opportunities has been severely limited for many adults, especially for the least-educated. But doubts about the ability of the disadvantaged to profit from more education are less credible than the same argument was when used against widening access to higher education, because adult education has always catered, in some degree, for the widest ability distribution. There are psychological controversies about the capacity of adults to learn,

but the research is not at all conclusive, particularly for adults under the age of fifty or so. Moreover, experience with the reorganisation and extension of both secondary and higher education suggests that one of the best tests for supposed psychological obstacles to adult learning is to challenge them with resources and programmes. It is not at all certain that more adult education means worse, in the sense of less cost-effective.

The case for this expenditure can be strengthened by strict attention in programme construction to the experience of the failed as well as the successful policy initiatives of recent years. This experience can be distilled into five principal propositions, each having implications for public expenditure.

First, programmes should aim to do only what education is likely to achieve, avoiding objectives like income redistribution for the achievement of which education is patently under-powered. In the matter of income redistribution, little measurable and certainly attributable effect is to be observed from heavy public expenditures. If educators rise to the challenge on content and methods, it is possible to envisage good returns on adult education programmes which are carefully tailored and integrated with other social policies. In such an event, however, a substantial proportion of the disadvantaged would probably still not partake willingly and profitably. Beyond that threshold, which is a variable proportion of any disadvantaged group, attempts to educate the unwilling are likely to yield returns which decrease so dramatically that they argue against further educational expenditure. With so few carefully tailored and adequately resourced programmes for disadvantaged adults, it is simply not possible to know in advance where this threshold lies in given types of advantage in different countries or localities, i.e. where substitution of non-education policy actions would probably be wise.

The extent to which increased doses of education for disadvantaged adults can compensate either for inadequate personalities or for deficiencies in other areas of social policy, e.g. employment, housing or health, is limited. Mutual reinforcement of social policies can greatly improve adult education effectiveness, and innovative programmes may sometimes be the cheapest way of tackling educational disadvantage which is merely the symptom of other handicaps. But the weight of opinion is probably against expecting education to revolutionise the economic order or to alter the general structure of income differentials.

Second, there is a danger that concentration on work-related skills, encouraged by widespread unemployment, will not significantly promote economic growth but will hinder the achievement of the wider objectives of adult education. In its crudest expression, the proposition is that the populations of developed countries are in

danger of being over-educated for work and under-educated for life. If there is only some truth in this it implies a serious, and probably increasing, misallocation of educational resources.

The view that a good deal of work-related training is irrelevant has already been touched upon. In its simplest form the screening hypothesis explains educational expansion not in terms of improving productivity, but as a feedback effect from the inflation in the educational requirements for jobs, which is in turn a response to an excessive supply of educationally well-qualified applicants. Educational credentials become a means of distinguishing would-be employees in terms of ability, achievement, motivation and various personality traits. The importance of this hypothesis for the expansion of work-related education for adults lies in the experience of expanding initial education over the last two decades. That experience, and the credentialist explanation of hiring practices, suggests that expansion of work-related education for adults is unlikely to affect earnings differentials very much overall - the exceptions are likely to be the few carefully tailored programmes which are pressed home with determination. A simple increase in the flow of people with skills tends merely to upgrade educational requirements for jobs, irrespective of any need for the increased skills the better to perform those jobs. Other things being equal, education-related differentials are likely to remain the same. The available jobs remain the same; only access criteria have altered.

At the same time, other purposes of adult education tend to be starved of resources. One of the examples which has been advanced is the education of the deaf. It may be that educating a deaf person raises his earnings above those of the less-educated deaf. But the non-pecuniary benefits may well be much more important. The deaf man and his family will be able to enjoy a richer life. Society enables its deaf members to share more of the opportunities available to those with normal hearing. None of these benefits, to the individual, to his family and to the quality of that society, can be reflected in the market place. This does not mean that they are not valued in Member countries. But contemporary concern over economic growth may result in potential benefits of this kind being passed over in favour of work-related education whose capacity to enhance productivity is sometimes less than certain - though it will invariably have a cosmetic effect on official statistics of unemployment.

The argument for adult education which is not focused exclusively on vocational skills is not an argument for providing and distributing purely private consumption goods at public expense. In developed countries the pressures of industrial change, intense urbanisation and the bureaucratisation of social life have tended to produce a widespread sense of alienation. This manifests itself at work and in the

local community, in degenerating industrial relations, political apathy, cultural conservatism and social non-co-operation. Community development is one promising response to the problem, fraught with difficulties, but important because, by attempting to set the individual and the group back in the driving seat wherever possible, it seeks to sensitise the complex organisations of modern life to the individuals for whom they are supposed to exist. The argument for spending resources on community development is an argument for self-preservation in societies with ideals of citizen participation and activity, and the promotion of individual development as well as social responsibility. To conserve and strengthen the social and political fabric is not, of course, exclusively an educational objective. Nevertheless, it is a prime objective of adult education and not one to be confined to a few admirable institutions like the Scandinavian folk high schools. Unless a great effort is made to develop and to encourage opportunities for creative leisure and citizenship, the effect of the drive to increase industrial training facilities will be to leave provision for adults dangerously lop-sided. Reduction of disadvantage is a social as well as a private benefit, reducing a potential threat to social cohesion and a tarnish to a society's reputation for caring for the weak as well as the strong.

Community development is an unashamedly "top-down" form of educational enterprise in the sense that governments are using resources in order to devolve the process of articulating and trying to satisfy community preferences. But it is also "bottom-up" in the sense that it promotes self-development by individuals and groups. The government-local group relationship is two-way, not uni-directional. It is an important matter whether resources for adult learning come from central government (and ultimately from households) or directly from households, and local voluntary bodies. In the first case, the route is circuitous via direct and indirect taxation, disbursement by central government, probably to a providing agency, and then to the household. Services are divorced from the taxation which pays for them, a lack of connection in the minds of both taxpayers and beneficiaries which is one of the most intractable problems of the welfare state. In its community development guise adult education at least partially overcomes this problem, while the activities which it promotes complement, humanise and criticise the inevitably bureaucratised, and relatively inflexible offerings of welfare services. A substantial devolution of initiative and control over resources to the group or the individual means that adult learners are less "done to" and more "doing". The output from centrally-provided resources and "outside" technical assistance is likely to be enhanced when local control leads to mobilisation of local resources, of individuals, families and local groups, in complementary effort. The encouragement of active as

opposed to passive citizenship enhances the quality of adult life in itself, but so does the concomitant identification of social needs and close gearing of effort to the meeting of these needs.

Community development is often envisaged as a spectrum of activities ranging from reaction to social and economic change within the existing power and institutional structure to self-generated change. In the first case, there is an attempt to build the community's capacity to cope with many of its own problems; in the second to create its own opportunities, to raise its consciousness by a group-learning process and so develop new preferences and goals as well as skills and knowledge. In the first type as well as the second there is an attempt to shift the locus of decision-making to the smallest scale of operation compatible with efficient use of resources. Although the Scandinavian countries are particularly well-known for this form of adult education, it is to be found in greater or less variety in many Member states. One test for the commitment of government funds is the extent to which this commitment:

1. mobilises other resources available in the community, and
2. increases cost-effectiveness.

On this test its potential does seem to be considerable, but also because of the sensitivity of the local community to the particular social, economic and educational features of the local situation in which disadvantage is commonly rooted.

The case for expanding non-formal kinds of recurrent education is strengthened by the high cost of formally structured adult education. But it rests chiefly on the participative nature of such education, on the fact that the medium is as much to be desired as the message. Moreover, compared with heavily-professionalised forms of adult education like vocational training, there is much scope for expansion by closer and more effective collaboration with existing educational institutions to make their under-used resources more accessible to wider populations of adults.

Third, programmes must be prepared to pioneer content and methods outside the norm for the formal education system and for much existing provision for adults. Unfortunately, the norms and values of education systems are extremely powerful and learning outcomes tend to be judged rather unthinkingly against them, with the result that some of the outcomes of education for the disadvantaged will seem meagre because they are under-valued, making the cost-effectiveness of the exercise look poor. Many desirable outcomes in the vocational field are very basic competences, and in the non-vocational field involve equally elementary skills for social life, none of which are likely to have very high valuations put upon them if the bench-mark is their scarcity in the whole population or their market value. A more

appropriate criterion values outcomes for the extent to which the disadvantaged are set on a competitive footing in the job market, and how well they are socialised or resocialised into the mainstream of society. The existing credentialist framework of the education system in developed countries embodies a fairly consistent and entrenched set of valuations of learning outcomes. An unimaginative, linear expansion of facilities for the disadvantaged within this framework is likely to produce some financial horror stories, a compound of inappropriate content and methods, great expense and poor returns. More of the adult education which is now offered to the best educated can easily be a wasteful prescription.

The required content and method is often different from the traditional recipe because new recruits to public learning have to be met where they are now. They are people who are not willing to come forward on the traditional terms. They do not arrive with more or less homogeneous, certified competences ready to be moved on to the next level. The disadvantaged need far more flexible forms of aid, services which are sufficiently adaptable at least to start from their values, existing abilities, social and occupational circumstances.

At present most publicly-supported opportunities for life-long learning are so structured in curriculum, location, scheduling and teaching methods as to be effectively accessible only to members of a minority culture. To democratise lifelong education may involve re-distribution of resources away from this educational and occupational minority, but also the exploitation of alternative methods which cater for other values and other capacities. Widening access to existing institutions, which embody only a subset of a population's values, would in many cases be an expensive and futile exercise. Nor is the solution simply a matter of employing the full repertoire of modern instructional media and methods. The search for effective curricula and methods needs to be client-centred.

In innovations scattered here and there, like the Swedish study circles or the Liverpool Community Education Project, more flexible, informal and client-centred forms of adult education are already being developed. If money for the disadvantaged is to be spent productively it seems likely that democratising access to learning resources will, in itself, be quite insufficient. To cater for adult learners who are far less homogeneous in social and occupational position, in values and capacities than heretofore, it will be necessary to democratise curriculum-making and patterns of teaching and learning. This requires great flexibility in means of access to resources, form of access, timing of access, i.e. in sequence and combination of learning experiences. Educational disadvantage is sometimes a function of genetic inheritance or of personality. But it is often a function of the legal and institutional framework of education, as much as it is

a function of economic and social disadvantage. In particular, the comprehensive and well-articulated linkage between job opportunities and educational credentials, and the unnecessarily judgemental ethos of formal education, have operated increasingly to distinguish sheep and goats, passes and fails. The tradition has been to identify a minority as the most able and to give them the most expensive and privately profitable initial education. The cheaper and less profitable forms of education are left for the less able, and virtually nothing beyond ineffective compulsory education for the seriously disadvantaged.

This regressive character of educational expenditures is not easily reversed, and public expenditures on the disadvantaged will continue to appear unproductive if they are devoted to a "debased" form of traditional content and method whose outcomes are judged by traditional values.

Fourth, programmes for the disadvantaged have to be specific and highly discriminate, i.e. with a well-defined clientele and particular objectives. Tailoring of programmes for the disadvantaged means ensuring that a very high proportion of mobilised resources are used exclusively by the target group. Considerably more resources can usually be mobilised in aid of learning than the total financial input. The public financial input acts as a catalyst to the total commitment of resources, the ratio of catalyst to total being an important consideration in evaluating the worth of a project. The Open University in the United Kingdom has given its students access to resources considerably in excess of its budget, because it has been able to tap the human and physical resources of other institutions of higher education, of the BBC and of local authorities at a cost reflecting its position as a marginal user. The same institution, the Open University, exemplifies the tailoring problem. Its innovative energy, its resources and those it has mobilised have not been devoted entirely to the disadvantaged adults originally identified as its target clientele. From the beginning, it has also been used by a distinctly less disadvantaged set of adults, many of whom had already enjoyed a substantial amount of higher education. Leakages of benefit to the advantaged are probably inevitable, at least indirectly. The problem is to minimise such leakage, such misdirection of resources, as well as any straightforward waste of resources due to simple inexperience. The case for building in monitoring procedures, and relating the continuation of public funding to repeated audits for both leakage and waste is very strong.

Instead of aiming for some general and unidentifiable improvement in life chances, programmes should be geared towards getting particular people into particular jobs. Lack of credentials from initial education is a potent source of disadvantage in those developed countries where larger and larger proportions of those leaving initial

education are credentialled in some way. These credentials are then used as a coarse filter in selection for more and more occupations. Once in an occupation or a firm initial qualifications tend to count for little in the internal labour market. So a great deal depends upon the ability of programmes to overcome this first job barrier. The need for very discriminating selection and tough complementary employment policies is, if anything, greater than the need for a large injection of public money. The Apprenticeship Outreach Programme in the United States, aimed exclusively and quite effectively at blacks, is one example of determined discrimination and reinforcement with complementary social policies.

There appears to be a policy choice between expansion of opportunities for adult education which improves access absolutely for the less educated but not relative to the better educated, and expansion which improves their access both relatively and absolutely. When public resources are very scarce and unemployment uncomfortably high, there is a strong case in equity, and even on grounds of economic growth if programmes are right, for the latter policy, i.e. for discriminating against the better educated. However, although some kind of negative discrimination is inevitable in a policy of positive discrimination, effective programme construction is complicated by the interaction of different social policies and different phases of educational policy. This is well illustrated by recently reported improvements in the job prospects for college-educated blacks in the United States, an improvement greater than that for the less educated blacks. In part, this seems to follow from a national determination expressing itself in an increased search for and recruitment of black graduates by large firms, government and graduate schools. This extra education is not merely raising black earnings but narrowing the black-white earnings gap.

Fifth, programmes have to be supported by appropriate fiscal policies and appropriate social policies in areas like employment, housing and health. One way of classifying disadvantage is to divide it between those forms which are based solely on lack of certain competences and those based on some form of social discrimination. Disadvantage is not always multiple. Only educational action is needed to deal with the first type of disadvantage. For the second type, other social policy actions are usually required. For the illiterate, who is unable to get work simply because he cannot read, or the unskilled worker needing only a driving licence to get a job, acquisition of a competence through education can cure the condition. The situation is different for an epileptic who could work if employers were willing to bother with him, for the black person or the woman suffering from hiring practices which discriminate against them on grounds of race or sex. For them educational opportunity will not suffice:

strong countervailing social policy is needed in order to overcome the entrenched social constraints of the labour market.

In consequence, education for certain kinds of disadvantaged adults has financial implications for non-education budgets. It requires finance for improvement of housing availability to assist geographical redeployment of labour, for movement grants, earnings guarantees, greatly improved job search and information facilities. It has been argued that inequality is transmitted from generation to generation by education, but no more than by genes or property or social contacts, or by systematic positive feedback over the lifetime of a fortunate individual - a virtuous multiplier. If this is the case, then the objects of government action need to be all those systematic transmitters of social inequality which are amenable to policy in present conditions, of which education is only one.

The effective orchestration of educational and other social policies is, of course, a necessary condition of educational cost-effectiveness. One of these related policies is employment policy, whose critical role can be seen in two examples. The first concerns a social constraint in the labour market which does not arise out of personal prejudice, for example about skin colour or sex. It arises out of the organised determination of those who have jobs to keep to themselves whatever work there is, even at the expense of those who have no work at all. This is a problem in any economy, but the more so in economies like those of France and the United Kingdom, where heavy unemployment is combined with unusually long hours of work. In early 1977, when unemployment in the United Kingdom was over 1.3 million, manual workers in manufacturing were doing overtime above the basic working week which was equivalent to 400,000 jobs. The solution to this is not public expenditure on educational facilities for the unemployed. It is intervention in the labour market to get the unemployed back to work. In turn this is not a simple matter of dealing with trade union protection of the interests of their members. This overtime phenomenon is also due to employers reluctance to meet increased demand by hiring more workers. In the United Kingdom, for instance, this was a rational reaction in the light of incomes policies and of legislation on redundancy payments.

The second example concerns the overall management of the labour market, which is necessary to avoid the situation where the disadvantaged acquire skills in excess of the market's capacity to absorb them at existing levels of real wages. In inflationary times, this is a particularly severe problem because considerable shifts in relativities between real wages can occur with unusual speed. It is difficult for governments to monitor these and to take quick corrective action. Those with newly-acquired skills who do get work may destroy the increased earnings which they hoped for by tipping a

slight excess of demand into an excess of supply. Those whose skills are not uprated may gain by the uprating of others, from the reduced supply of unskilled services in relation to demand. But turning possibilities into actualities requires a most sensitive and sure-footed employment policy, with continuous occupational flexibility analysis to analyse the changing patterns of demand for skills, and a training policy which relates the funding of skill-centred education to this continuous monitoring of skill surpluses and shortages. In the past, immigration and the employment of guest-workers has prevented a very sharp rise in the earnings of the least-skilled in a number of OECD countries with tight labour markets. These policies were always easier to rationalise in terms of industrial costs than in terms of long-term efficiency in the use of labour and considerations of equity between different skill levels in the labour force. With a turnround in labour markets, tighter controls on the entry of workers from abroad, and the growth of labour market interventions by means of specialist government agencies as well as by statute, improvement of the incomes of the retrained and of those left behind is not inconceivable.

It is sometimes argued that the only justification for compensatory educational spending is a prospective return in excess of competing non-educational remedies for the same problem. But in practice, the major arms of social policy are often effective only when they are mutually reinforcing. In this interactive mode it becomes almost impossible to attribute a particular pay-off to a given educational expenditure, and to estimate comparative cost: benefit ratios across social policy areas. From the policy viewpoint, the chief concern is to find and interpret evidence that orchestrated social policy interventions, including education, are cost-effective in terms of policy objectives, even if the mechanisms and the complex cause and effect relationships do baffle social scientists. It may be difficult to attribute a share of the achievement of a policy goal to one contributory intervention, e.g. to educational as against fiscal and employment policies, but it is often easier to identify responsibility for failure. For example, inability to translate adult learning gains into income gains is frequently attributable to a lack of appropriate action in the labour market.

It follows from this argument that one important road to cost-effectiveness in public spending is the better co-ordination of spending by potentially reinforcing, but often counteracting, branches of social policy. The effectiveness of each programme can be raised not by more funds but by improved co-ordination of policies. That this is far easier said than done is shown by the intractability of institutional structures in many countries. This is not just a matter of concern in federal states, like the United States, with a complex overlapping of federal, state and local responsibilities which gives

considerable potential for dislocated effort and reduced cost-effectiveness of public spending. It is also a grave difficulty in a theoretically unitary system of government like the United Kingdom, where even the effective co-ordination of central government spending on adult education is only a distant prospect.

LES IMPLICATIONS FINANCIERES

RESUME

Le dimension financière des politiques de l'éducation destinées aux adultes défavorisés a été singulièrement négligée. Même lorsqu'il leur arrive d'étudier cette question, les commissions et les groupes de travail ne l'envisagent qu'en termes sectoriels étroits. L'absence d'un cadre d'analyse approprié à l'examen des coûts et des avantages ne semble guère les préoccuper. En règle générale, les propositions se limitent à manipuler les mécanismes de financement et à exhorter les autorités responsables à dépenser davantage pour certains projets qui ont leur faveur. Les recommandations ne portent que sur des cas particuliers et ne sont pas intégrées dans un cadre cohérent d'analyse de la politique sociale. Bref, elles flottent dans le vide.

Les dispositions financières devraient tenir compte de l'incidence et des coûts et des avantages. Les avantages de l'éducation des adultes retirés par les bénéficiaires ne sont pas bien inventoriés. La définition des avantages qui touchent d'autres que les bénéficiaires directs pose un problème plus ardu encore. En effet, l'éducation des adultes présente de nombreux avantages qu'il est impossible de faire payer et c'est pour cette raison, entre autres, que les pouvoirs publics sont intervenus pour compléter les ressources disponibles par la voie du marché. En retour, cette intervention a influencé la répartition du financement privé, si bien que pour fixer le niveau et la structure des ressources susceptibles de favoriser l'éducation des adultes, le gouvernement doit, au-delà des subventions de l'Etat, envisager globalement toutes les ressources pouvant entrer en jeu.

Pour répondre en détail aux nombreuses questions qu'on pourrait se poser, il est indispensable de connaître les objectifs et les structures financières et socio-économiques de chaque pays :

- Quelle est la répartition actuelle des avantages de l'éducation dans la population adulte?
- Quelle est la structure de la demande privée en matière d'éducation des adultes, aux prix actuels?
- Quelle est la structure envisagée et comment faudrait-il revoir les mécanismes de financement pour y parvenir?
- Quelles seraient les conséquences probables d'une telle révision pour la croissance économique, pour les profils de consommation des individus tout au long de leur vie et pour la texture sociale?

- Dans quelle proportion l'éducation des adultes est-elle financée à l'heure actuelle par les pouvoirs publics, les entreprises et les sources privées? Et quelle devrait-elle être à l'avenir?
- Quels sont les critères qui devraient déterminer la répartition de ce fardeau financier?

Des questions comme celles-ci donnent une idée du genre d'information dont on doit disposer pour juger des possibilités d'action. Ces données ne sont pas exclusivement d'ordre financier, mais on ne saurait pour autant négliger les aspects financiers du problème. Il est évidemment souhaitable d'évaluer les programmes autant que possible en fonction des réductions probables des désavantages, par unité de deniers publics et par unité de ressources globales, et aussi du point de vue de leurs avantages probables pour les groupes défavorisés et pour la société tout entière. Mais un troisième critère doit entrer en jeu, celui de la répartition, car il peut être beaucoup plus facile de réaliser et de mesurer d'importantes améliorations dans le sort de tel groupe défavorisé que pour tel autre. Il faut savoir qui bénéficie d'une mesure, et dans quelles proportions. En effet, il ne serait pas tolérable de relever au-dessus du seuil de pauvreté les revenus des 20% les plus aisés de la classe pauvre, sans améliorer le sort des plus miséreux. Et il ne serait pas tolérable non plus de financer un tel progrès dans le bien-être social par un accroissement de l'impôt dégressif. L'examen des dépenses d'éducation des pays de l'OCDE offre maints exemples de mesures en faveur de l'éducation dans lesquelles, si justifiées que soient les interventions qui les ont dictées, l'effet net du jeu des coûts et des avantages est de favoriser les moins malheureux. Pour qu'une politique d'aide aux adultes défavorisés soit efficace, il est indispensable que les mécanismes de financement soient gardés à l'esprit, non seulement avant l'adoption de cette politique, mais pendant tout le temps qu'elle restera en vigueur.

La nature de la dépense d'éducation des adultes est aussi importante que son montant. Pour que des crédits plus élevés puissent être affectés à cet enseignement dans les budgets publics et privés et dans ceux des entreprises, il faut que l'augmentation provienne d'un accroissement annuel ou d'un transfert d'autres postes de dépenses. Dans la compétition féroce dont les ressources publiques font l'objet, on ne peut toujours garantir que l'aide aux défavorisés, qu'elle soit octroyée en vertu du principe d'équité ou de la croissance économique, soit efficace par rapport à son coût. L'accès à l'éducation a été strictement limité pour de nombreux adultes, et en particulier pour les moins instruits. Mais les doutes exprimés au sujet de l'aptitude des défavorisés à tirer parti d'une éducation plus poussée sont moins fondés que lorsque cet argument a été utilisé à l'encontre d'un

élargissement de l'accès à l'enseignement supérieur, car l'éducation des adultes a toujours visé un éventail très large d'aptitudes. L'aptitude des adultes à apprendre suscite des controverses entre psychologues, mais les recherches sont loin d'être concluantes, en particulier pour les adultes approchant la cinquantaine. Quoi qu'il en soit, l'expérience acquise dans la réorganisation et l'extension des enseignements secondaire et supérieur permet de penser que pour juger des prétendus obstacles psychologiques qui dissuadent les adultes d'apprendre, l'un des meilleurs moyens est de leur offrir des ressources et des programmes. Multiplier les programmes d'éducation des adultes ne veut pas forcément dire en abaisser la qualité.

Ces dépenses seront d'autant plus justifiées que, dans l'élaboration des programmes, on tiendra dûment compte des expériences des dernières années, qu'elles soient des réussites ou des échecs. Ces expériences permettent d'énoncer cinq grands principes, qui ont tous des implications pour les dépenses publiques.

Tout d'abord, les programmes ne devraient viser d'autre but que ceux que l'éducation est susceptible d'atteindre, en évitant des objectifs tels que la redistribution des revenus qu'elle est manifestement incapable de réaliser. En matière de redistribution des revenus, on ne peut guère constater d'effets mesurables qui soient imputables de manière certaine à de fortes dépenses publiques. Si les enseignants relèvent le défi en ce qui concerne le contenu et les méthodes, il est permis d'espérer que des programmes d'éducation pour adultes, attentivement ajustés et intégrés à d'autres politiques sociales, donneront de bons résultats.

En second lieu, le fait de mettre l'accent sur les compétences liées au travail, attitude encouragée par un taux de chômage très élevé, risque de ne pas favoriser très sensiblement la croissance économique mais de retarder la réalisation des objectifs plus larges de l'éducation des adultes. En somme, on avance le postulat que les populations des pays développés courent le risque d'être "sur-instruites" pour le travail et "sous-instruites" pour la vie personnelle. Même si cela était vrai, cela résulterait d'une très mauvaise allocation, qui probablement s'aggravera, des ressources consacrées à l'éducation.

Troisièmement, les programmes doivent être prêts à innover en matière de contenu et de méthodes, afin de dépasser la qualité du système d'enseignement officiel et d'une grande partie des programmes offerts aux adultes. Malheureusement, la qualité et les valeurs des systèmes d'enseignement font autorité et l'on a tendance à juger un peu légèrement les résultats d'un enseignement quel qu'il soit en fonction de ces normes. De ce fait, dans le cas des défavorisés, certains résultats sembleront minces parce qu'ils sont sous-évalués,

faisant paraître médiocre le rapport coût-efficacité. Les résultats souhaitables dans le domaine professionnel sont souvent l'acquisition de qualifications élémentaires et, dans le domaine non professionnel, ils impliquent des compétences tout aussi élémentaires pour la vie sociale, dont aucune ne sera probablement très appréciée si elles se caractérisent par leur rareté dans la population totale ou leur valeur sur le marché.

Quatrièmement, les programmes destinés aux défavorisés doivent être spécialement conçus à leur intention et extrêmement discriminatoires, c'est-à-dire viser une clientèle bien définie et des objectifs particuliers. Pour adapter les programmes aux défavorisés, il faut veiller à ce qu'une proportion élevée des ressources mises en jeu soit exclusivement utilisée par le group visé.

Cinquièmement, les programmes doivent être soutenus par des politiques budgétaires et sociales appropriées dans des domaines tels que l'emploi, le logement et la santé. Pour classifier les désavantages, on peut les répartir en deux catégories - les désavantages exclusivement dus à l'absence de certaines qualifications ou compétences, et ceux qui reposent sur une forme de discrimination sociale. Les désavantages ne sont pas toujours multiples. Seule une action éducative est nécessaire pour lutter contre le premier type de désavantage, alors que pour le second, il faut en général d'autres formes d'action gouvernementale.

Certains font parfois valoir que la seule justification des dépenses pour l'enseignement de soutien est la perspective d'obtenir des résultats supérieurs à ceux que pourraient apporter d'autres formules concurrentes mises en oeuvre en dehors du secteur de l'enseignement. Mais, dans la pratique, les principaux instruments de la politique sociale ne sont souvent efficaces que lorsqu'ils se renforcent mutuellement. Dans cette interaction, il devient presque impossible d'attribuer une rentabilité particulière à une dépense éducative donnée et d'estimer les coûts comparés, c'est-à-dire le niveau des avantages dans tous les domaines de la politique sociale. De ce point de vue, la préoccupation première est de trouver et d'interpréter des preuves de la rentabilité des interventions concertées de la politique sociale, y compris celles de l'éducation, même si les mécanismes et les relations complexes de cause à effet déconcertent les spécialistes des sciences sociales. Il peut être difficile d'attribuer une part de la réalisation d'un objectif à telle ou telle intervention, par exemple à une politique de l'éducation plutôt qu'à une politique budgétaire ou une politique de l'emploi, mais il est souvent plus facile de déterminer laquelle des interventions est responsable d'un échec. Ainsi, l'impossibilité de traduire l'acquis gagné par les adultes sous forme d'augmentation de revenu, grâce aux cours organisés à leur intention, est souvent attribuée à l'absence d'une action appropriée sur le marché du travail.

Il ressort de cette discussion qu'une meilleure coordination des dépenses - qui peut renforcer, mais souvent équilibrera les secteurs de la politique sociale - est un moyen important d'assurer la rentabilité des dépenses publiques. Ce n'est pas un financement accru, mais une meilleure coordination des politiques qui permettra d'améliorer l'efficacité de chaque programme. Mais la nature particulièrement rigide des structures administratives dans de nombreux pays montre bien que cela est plus facile à dire qu'à faire. Cette question ne préoccupe pas seulement les nations à régime fédéral comme les Etats-Unis, où les responsabilités fédérales et celles des états et des municipalités s'imbriquent de manière complexe, d'où de grands risques de disperser les efforts et de réduire la rentabilité des dépenses publiques. Elle pose un problème aussi grave dans un système unitaire de gouvernement comme celui du Royaume-Uni, où la coordination effective des dépenses du gouvernement central consacrées à l'éducation des adultes n'est encore qu'une lointaine perspective.

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